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[T]IBET, TARTARY AND MONGOLIA;

THEIR

[PHYSICA]L AND POLITICAL CONDITION

AN[D] 3831

[RELIGI]ON OF BOODH,

COMPILED FROM THE REPORTS OF ANCIENT AND M[ODERN] TRAVELLERS, ESPECIALLY FROM M. HUC'S REMINISCENCES OF THE RECENT JOURNEY OF HIMSELF AND M. GABET, LAZARISTE MISSIONARIES OF MONGOLIA.

BY

HENRY T. PRINSEP, Esq.

AA 414

LONDON:
WM. H. ALLEN & CO.,
7, LEADENHALL STREET.

1851.

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TIBET, TARTARY AND MONGOLIA.

TIBET, Tartary, and Mongolia were unknown to the ancients, except as lands of fable, occupied by wandering Scythians. Tibet was the country whence came the Indians of the Persian court, who ate their dead, as told by Herodotus, and as they themselves report to have been their ancient custom. There is, however, no record of authentic travel into any region of the East, lying above the Himalaya, and beyond the mountains in which the Oxus and Jaxartes have their sources, anterior to the journey of Father William Rubruquis to Karakurum, in the reign of Louis IX. of France, and of Mangoo Khan, the grandson of Jungeez Khan, of Tartary. This journey was undertaken in A.D. 1253, at the time when King Louis was in Syria engaged in a holy war. It had its origin in an overture made, through a real or

pretended ambassador of the Khan of the Mongols, settled between the Don and the Wolga rivers, who was said to have professed Christianity, and to have held out the hope of a diversion from the North in favour of the cause of that religion against Islam. The Khan referred to is called by Rubruquis, Sartach, but in the works of later French missionaries he is called Gayook Khan. He was the son of Batoo, at that time great Khan of the western tribes, and conquered territories of the Mongols beyond the Caspian Sea. Crossing the Euxine to the Crimea, Rubruquis found Sartach in the pastures between the Don and Wolga, which are now occupied by the Cossacks. By Sartach he was sent on to Batoo, who was then near the Wolga; and the affair of an expedition into Syria appearing, even to him, to be beyond his competency, the monk envoy was sent on to the Court of Mangoo Khan, at Kara Kurum. He made the journey in winter, riding relays of horses along with a Tartar noble, and found no obstruction except from cold, fatigue, starvation and bad roads. He remained five months with Mangoo Khan, and was similarly sent back in the summer. He writes in his official report of this mission, made to King Louis, "We came in two months and ten days from Karakurum to Batoo, and never saw a town nor so much as the appearance of any

house but graves, except one village, wherein we did not so much as eat bread; nor did we ever rest in these two months and ten days, save one day, because we could not get horses. We went two days, and sometimes three, without taking any other food but cosmos (Kurmis)." The geographical particulars given by Rubruquis are very scanty, but great interest attaches to what he reports of the habits and character of these Khans, and of their courts, and likewise of the religious condition of the Moghuls, or Mongols, in that age. Mangoo Khan was the grandson of Jungeez Khan, who died in the year A.D. 1227, only twenty-six years before the date of this mission. The conquest of China had not yet changed the character and habits of the conquering horde, and we find both Batoo and Mangoo to be the same simple-minded illiterate barbarians that we still read of as occupying the station of Tartar Khans, but not wanting in shrewdness, high-minded feeling, and even dignity.

With respect to religion, Jungeez Khan was the apostle of the most complete toleration. The Mahommedans report that he had the subject discussed in a mosque of Bokhara, and there laid down the principle, that he required only faith in one all-powerful God, leaving all the rest to be supplied by man's free study and judgment. As

this was the early creed of Mohammed himself, the Moolavees looked upon him as more than half Mahommedan. But the creed of Jungeez was Boodhism. The very title of Jungeez Khan was given to him by a Kotooktoo, or regenerate Boodh, of great sanctity, after his wars with Tangoot or Tibet, and he was too deep a politician not to use the agency and influence of that extraordinary priesthood to assist him in binding the Tartar, Tibetan and Mongol races in the wonderful association he contrived to establish amongst them, and which subsisted for many generations after his decease.

In the Shensi province a stone tablet was found by the Jesuits, in the seventeenth century, recording the presence of Nestorian Christians in the country, and their success in spreading Christianity, as early as A.D. 636; and there are imperial edicts in its favour of dates between that year and A.D. 782, which are still preserved in the archives and histories of China.

We find also from the report of Father Rubruquis, that Nestorian Christians abounded at the courts and in the territories, as well of Batoo Khan, as of his superior, Mangoo Khan; that they had great influence with many at court, especially of the wives and daughters of these and other chiefs; that they were allowed publicly to profess their

religion, to open chapels, and parade the cross in public streets and market-places, dressed in canonical vestments; and that they were especially called on to administer medicines, and to pray for sick persons in extremity. Father Rubruquis, himself, took part in a controversy of these Christians, held with Boodhists and Mohammedans, in the presence of Mangoo Khan, on matters of faith; and one cannot read his report without wondering at the patience with which these simple-minded people, and the priests and professors of their ancient religion submitted to the ill-mannered arrogance and pretensions of the intrusive Christian zealots, who, while proclaiming the mysteries of the Trinity, and of the Host, and of holy water, too frequently insulted those who adhered to the faith of their fathers, and declared publicly their books, and those of the Mahommedans, to be lies, and the believers "vile dogs."

Rubruquis thus reports, in a general way, of the Lama priesthood he found at the courts of the Mongol Khans; and we give the extract verbatim, because it is of importance to show that their forms and habits have suffered very little change in the six hundred years since his visit to Mongolia, and had not their origin in any imitation of Romish observances, he being the first priest of that church who is known to have entered the country.

"All their priests had their heads shaven quite over, and they are clad in saffron coloured garments. Being once shaven, they lead an unmarried life from that time forward, and they live a hundred or two hundred of them together in one cloister. Upon the days when they enter into these temples, they place two long forms therein, and so sitting upon the said forms, like singing men in a choir, one half of them directly over against the other, they have certain books in their hands, which sometimes they lay down upon the forms; and their heads are bare as long as they remain in the temple; and then they read softly to themselves, not uttering any voice at all. On my coming in among them, at the time of their superstitious devotions, and finding them all sitting mute in a manner, I attempted several ways to provoke them to speech, yet could not by any means possibly. They have with them also, whithersoever they go, a certain string, with a hundred or two hundred nutshells thereupon, much like our beads, which we carry about with us, and they do always mutter these words, '*Om mani hactavi,* (*om mani padme hom*) God, thou knowest,' as one of them expounded it to me. And so often do they expect a reward at God's hands as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God." Again: "I made a visit to their idol temple, and found certain priests sitting in the outward portico,

and those which I saw seemed by their shaven beards as if they had been our countrymen. They wore certain ornaments upon their heads like mitres made of paper. The priests of the Jugures (Qy? Chakars) use those ornaments wherever they go. They wear always their saffron-coloured jackets, which are very straight-laced, or buttoned from the bosom downwards, after the French fashion, and they have a cloak upon their left shoulder, descending under their right arm, like a deacon carrying a collector's box in time of Lent."

This description corresponds exactly with what one sees at this day in any Boodhist temple of Mongolia, China, Burma, or Siam. Pythagorean silence and abstraction is there the universal rule. The ceremonies and public services on particular occasions, and especially those of the Tibetan monastic establishments, are of a different character, as will hereafter be noticed.

The only further thing to be gathered from Rubruquis is, that the reply of Mangoo Khan to the letter of King Louis, is stated to have been written in the Mongolian language, but in the character of the Jugures or Chakars, which had been introduced by Nestorian Christians, and was derived from the Syrian, but written in lines down the page, commencing from the left. Mongolian is so written at the present day. We wonder if there

is any trace of this letter among the archives of France! There are records of older times than this still subsisting in England, and the letter which led to the mission of father Rubruquis is said to be extant.

The next account of these regions obtained by Europe was furnished through the relation of the travels of Marco Polo. Two noblemen of the Venetian family of Polo had relations of commerce and friendship with the Tartar chiefs of the northern shores of the Euxine, at the very period of the journey of Rubruquis, above noticed. By some vicissitudes they were led to Bukhara, at the time when Alan Khan, better known by the name of Hulakoo, sent an ambassador to Kublai Khan, whom he acknowledged as the head of the entire Tartar and Mongol races. By that ambassador the Venetians were invited to make the journey in company. It occupied an entire year, but we have no record of the line of route followed from Bokhara. Kublai Khan received them well, and having kept them some time at his court, sent them back with letters and a message to the Pope inviting him to open communications with him. Some troubles and changes of the papacy prevented a prompt acknowledgment of this overture; but at last, in A.D. 1269, as nearly as can be ascertained, the two Polos, Nicolo and Maffei, taking with them Marco, the young son of the former,

set out on their return, along with a priest, who soon left them, delivering the Pope's letters into their hands. Starting from Acre, on the coast of Syria, the Polos were three years and a half upon this journey. Upon their arrival at Pekin, which they call Cambala, which is the Tartar name Khanbaliq, young Marco was taken immediately into favour, and was for twenty-six years afterwards a nobleman of the great Khan's court, employed in several missions, and other high offices of state. He came away at last, in A.D. 1295, in charge of a princess who was to be married to the Tartar sovereign of Persia.

The information obtained in this long sojourn in China and Tartary was committed to writing by Marco Polo, or from his dictation, during a captivity he suffered at Genoa, after his return. It was thus given only from memory, and is often vague. But it has been confirmed in most respects by subsequent travellers. The route followed, on the Polos' second journey into China, was up the Oxus, to its sources, through Budukhshan; whence, crossing the Pamir table-land to Kotun, they went across the Hamil or Shamil desert, to Cambala (Khanbaliq), or Pekin. The return was by sea to Singapore, and round Ceylon, to the Persian gulf. Of Tibet and Mongolia, Marco Polo says little. His employments seem to have carried him chiefly

into the provinces of China Proper, and other southern countries, the magnitude and population of the cities of which, he details with exaggeration. He dwells also with animation upon the magnificence of the court of Kublai Khan; showing a strange change of habit between him and his predecessor, Mangoo Khan, as described only a few years before by Rubruquis. We find, however, in Marco Polo, continued evidence of the extreme toleration allowed by this race of emperors to all religions, and of the impartiality with which honours were granted to men of every faith. The general who conquered southern China, for instance, is stated to have been a Nestorian Christian and to have built a church at Nankin for those of his own faith. Marco Polo was himself in high favour, though a Roman Catholic; and Mahommedans also were numerous, and freely employed. It is, indeed, stated to have been the custom of the emperor to send offerings on his birthday to the shrines, and presents to the priests of all religions, on the same principle, it would seem, as was recognised by the Romans when they erected their temple to the gods of lesser nations. This spirit of general toleration did not originate with the Mongol emperors. We learn from the Mahommedan travellers who visited China as early as A.D. 850, that it then prevailed; and that, when Canton was

taken and sacked in A.D. 877, by a rebel army, as many as 120,000 Mahommedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees perished in the sack. This shows that the policy of China in those days allowed the free resort and residence of men of all religions. The same travellers, in common with Rubruquis, relate conferences had with the emperor, or with men in power, on subjects of faith, affording evidence of a spirit of free inquiry into such matters quite consonant with the known principles of Boodhism, which recognises the pursuit of truth by abstraction, and by the free exercise of the powers of the human mind, as the first duty, and only road to perfection. These Mahommedans came to China by sea, and did not penetrate into Tibet or Tartary, which have ever been the head quarters of the religion of Boodh, but they knew of that religion having been derived from India, of its being very ancient, and of its being based on a belief in the transmigration of souls, combined with image worship.

The earliest travels into Tibet Proper which have been transmitted to us, are those of the Jesuit fathers, Grueber and Dorville, who returned from China by that route in A.D. 1661, just four hundred years after Marco Polo's journey westward. They were the first Christians of Europe who are known to have penetrated into the populous parts of Tibet; for Marco Polo's journey was, as we have

stated, to the north-west, by the sources of the Oxus.* Father Grueber was much struck with the extraordinary similitude he found, as well in the doctrine, as in the rituals, of the Boodhists of Lassa to those of his own Romish faith. He noticed first, that the dress of Lamas corresponded with that handed down to us in ancient paintings, as the dress of the Apostles. 2nd. That the discipline of the monasteries, and of the different orders of Lamas or priests, bore the same resemblance to that of the Romish church. 3rd. That the notion of an incarnation was common to both, so also the belief in paradise and purgatory. 4th. He remarked that they made suffrages, alms, prayers, and sacrifices for the dead, like the Roman Catholics. 6th. That they had convents, filled with monks and friars, to the number of 30,000, near Lassa, who all made the three vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, like Roman monks, be-

* Benedict Goez, a Portuguese monk, went from Lahore by Kabool, to Kashghur, and across the sandy desert, into China, where he died in A.D. 1607; but his route also was far north of Tibet. Another Jesuit, Anthony Andrada, passed through Kumaon to the Manoosa-Rahwa lake, and thence went on to Rudak, on the western confines of Tibet. His journey was made in 1624, and is discredited by commentators and geographers, because of his mentioning this lake as the source of the Ganges and Indus, instead of the Sutlej There is no doubt, however, that the voyage is genuine, though we have no details of it.

sides other vows. And 7th, that they had confessors, licensed by the superior Lamas, or bishops; and so empowered to receive confessions, and to impose penances, and give absolution. Besides all this, there was found the practice of using holy water, of singing service in alternation, of praying for the dead, and a perfect similarity in the costumes of the great and superior Lamas to those of the different orders of the Romish hierarchy. These early missionaries, further, were led to conclude, from what they saw and heard, that the ancient books of the Lamas contained traces of the Christian religion, which must, they thought, have been preached in Tibet in the time of the Apostles. We reserve the further discussion of this question, until we have given the more complete and accurate information afforded by recent travellers, who followed very nearly the same route with these missonaries. The sources of our geographical information deserve the first notice.

The map of Tibet, which is given in connection with that of China, was not framed from actual surveys made by the Jesuits employed by the Emperor Kanghi to prepare the latter. They deputed some Lamas, to whom they had imparted the rudiments of the science of surveying, and from their information, filled in that portion. In this state it was published by Du Halde, in the begin-

ning of the eighteenth century, and is to this day all we have on the subject. The map, therefore, is on no account to be depended upon. On the other hand, the few Europeans who have penetrated into Tibet, with exception to Captain Turner, Warren Hasting's envoy, tell us only of their difficulties and sufferings, and give very imperfect notices of the geography of the routes they followed. Fathers Grueber and Dorville crossed China from Pekin, by Singanfoo to Sining, and reached the Koko-noor valley, and thence passed into Tibet, round the sources of the Hwang-ho, and crossing those of the Yang-tse Kiang river, they came on from thence to India, through the valley of Nipal by Katmandu, and Hetounda to Patna, on the Ganges, where Dorville died. Another missionary, Père Desideri, started from Goa in November, 1713, and passing through Dehli and Kashmeer into Baltistan, arrived at Leh, or Ladak, on the 25th June, 1714, and remained there for an entire year. From thence, he continued his journey, in the autumn of 1715, to Lassa, by a route of extreme elevation, of which we have no details whatsoever; Desideri, like the rest, only reporting his own sufferings from the intense cold. The journey occupied from August 1715, to March 1716; and the worst part was made in the winter, as seems to be the case with all, because of the impossi-

bility of crossing the rivers and torrents at other seasons. Desideri found the temporal sovereignty of Lassa in the hands of a Tartar prince (a Sifan), who had recently conquered the country; the Lamas were, however, respected and reverenced, and directed all things spiritual.

After this, a mission of twelve Capuchins was sent into Tibet by Pope Clement XI., at the head of which was a monk named Francis Horace della Penna. It passed through Betia in Behar, to Bhatgaon in Nipal, and thence reached Lassa. In 1732, letters were received in Rome from this mission, after an interval of years, announcing its favourable reception, and soliciting a reinforcement, which was sent in 1738. In 1742, there was published in Rome a very meagre report of the proceedings of this mission, making pretence of great success, and of having brought even the sovereign of the kingdom to acknowledge the truths of Christianity: but stating that he was restrained from proclaiming his conversion by policy, and by a respect for old customs. The mission, which had a branch at Bhatgaon in Nipal, is not further heard of, and no geographical, or other details of interest, have ever been obtained from it.

After these comes, in point of date, the authentic and highly interesting narrative of Captain Turner, who was sent in 1783 by Warren Hastings

on a special political mission to the Grand Lama of Teeshoo Loomboo. Full particulars of this journey were published in 1785 in London, with an accurate map of the route; and the book is too well known to need either citation, or any statement in abstract of its contents. We shall hereafter have occasion to refer to the account it gives of the state of society and of religion in Tibet. Captain Turner's route to Lassa was from Rungpoor in Bengal, to Tassisudon in Bootan, and thence by the Chumulari pass, across the Himalaya, to Teeshoo Loomboo:—He never went to Lassa. The same route nearly from Rungpoor was taken by Mr. Manning, who made the attempt to pass through Tibet into China, but was sent back from Lassa in 1811. We are not aware of any other Europeans having ever penetrated from India into this interesting region; but the government of India have received intelligence on several occasions from merchants of Patna, who trade with Lassa indirectly through Katmandoo, and its relations with Nipal, have, more than once, brought the governor-general into direct communication with the Chinese officers in Tibet.

It may be convenient to mention in this place the nature and circumstances of these communications.

In the time of Warren Hastings, the Bootan

chiefs made an incursion into the district of Rungpoor, and the detachment employed in driving back the Booteas penetrated into the lower hills, and took Delamcotta. The Booteas then sued for peace, using the good offices of the Teeshoo Lama for intercession, for they are Boodhists, owning the spiritual supremacy of the Tibetan Lamas. Favourable terms were given to them, and Delamcotta was restored. The missions, first of Mr. Bogle, and afterwards of Captain Turner, to Teeshoo-loomboo had their origin in this petty war. The British power, it is to be observed, was not then viewed with the same suspicion as at present, either by Tibetans or by Chinese, nor was the authority of China so firmly established in Tibet.

In 1792, the Goorkhas having mastered the whole of the valley of Nipal, and of the hill country from Sikhim to the Gogra, a party of them crossed the Himalaya, and appeared suddenly before Teeshoo Loomboo. The Lama and priests hastily evacuated their convents, and fled to Lassa, and the place was plundered by the Goorkhas, who retired immediately with their booty. The Tibetans applied to China for aid, and an army was collected for the punishment of this act of unprovoked outrage. The Goorkhas met them at Tingri Mydan, and the two armies were for some time in presence, but the Chinese made at last a general attack, and the Nipalese were de-

feated. The Chinese general, following up his victory, took the frontier post of Nipal, called Koti, and showed a disposition further to penetrate into the southern hills. Captain Kirkpatrick was at this time resident at Katmandoo, on the part of Lord Cornwallis, governor-general of India. His instructions were, studiously to avoid anything like interference in the quarrel with Tibet; but to hold the language of reprobation and displeasure in respect to this unprovoked act of the Goorkha court. The consequence was, that despairing of aid from us, the Goorkhas submitted unconditionally to the Chinese commander, who imposed a tribute and triennial mission to Pekin, besides restitution of all the booty taken at Teeshoo Loomboo, and took hostages for the performance of these stipulations. The Raja of Sikhim was at the same time taken under Chinese protection, so as to prevent the extension of Goorkha conquest eastward. This is the state with which we have recently had a quarrel consequently upon the detention of Dr. Campbell, our agent at Darjeeling, while upon an excursion beyond the limits of that station, which excited Chinese jealousy, and was so resented by the intervention of the local authorities, most probably at their instance or suggestion.

Checked towards the East by these events, the Goorkhas extended their dominion westward, sub-

jugating Kumaon, Sirinugur, and all the hill country to the Sutlej. Their restless rapacity could not be restrained from plundering and encroaching upon British subjects, and rajas within the British frontier. This brought on the Nipal war of 1814—16, which terminated in the British conquest of Kumaon, and of all the western hills, and in the cession of that territory to the British by a formal treaty, which was signed and delivered to General Ochterlony, on the 4th March, 1816. It is under the stipulations of this treaty that we have now a permanent resident stationed at Katmandoo.

The Chinese viewed, with great jealousy, the establishment of a British political officer at the court of one of their tributaries, for the Nipal Raja had continued since 1792 to send the triennial mission, with presents, to Pekin, in acknowledgment of fealty. In September, 1816, the court of Pekin sent a special commissioner, with such troops as could be collected, to call their feudatory to account for his proceedings. A mission of explanation was accordingly sent from Katmandoo, which was rated soundly by the Chinese commissioner, whose name was Choong Chang, for having brought war upon their country by wanton aggressions and acts of violence, and for having represented the British object in the war

to be to obtain command of the passes into Tibet. To the Governor-General of India, Choong Chang wrote as follows:—

"His Imperial Majesty, who, by God's blessing, is well informed of the conduct and proceedings of all mankind, reflecting on the good faith and wisdom of the English, and the firm friendship and constant commercial intercourse which has so long subsisted between the two nations, never placed any reliance on the calumnious imputations put forward by the Goorkha Raja," &c. &c. "You mention that you have stationed an envoy in Nipal. This is a matter of no consequence; but, as the raja from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the thing, has imbibed suspicions, if you would, out of kindness to us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship subsisting, withdraw your envoy. It would be better; and we should feel inexpressibly gratified for the consideration shown to our wishes." To this, the Marquis of Hastings replied, that if the Chinese government would send a high officer to Nipal, through whom we might seek redress, in case of future injuries and aggressions, we might then dispense with the presence of an envoy at Katmandoo: otherwise there seemed no alternative but to keep him there, to give and receive explanations, as the best and only way of preventing

differences hereafter. To this the court of China replied, after a long interval, in these words:— "Be it known to you, that the Goorkha Raja has long been a faithful tributary of the Chinese government, and refers himself to it whenever occasion requires. There is, therefore, no need of deputing thither any one from this empire. Besides, by the grace of God, His Majesty, possessing the sovereignty of the whole kingdom of China, and other countries, does not enter the city of any one without cause. If it so happen that his victorious forces take the field, in such case, after punishing the refractory, he, in his royal clemency, restores the transgressor to his throne. We have not thought it our duty to represent this matter to the throne, as it is opposed to the customs of this empire. The merchants who frequent the port of Canton, can inform your lordship of our customs. *For the future, a proposition so contrary to usage, should not be introduced into a friendly dispatch.*" With this display of humour the correspondence closed. It is to be remarked as singular, that Tibet is never once referred to by the Chinese officers. The affair is treated as one concerning China and its tributary, Nipal, and none other. In the time of Warren Hastings, when we were embroiled with Bootan, under circumstances not dissimilar, it was the Teeshoo Lama

who interceded, and with whom we had relations in consequence. The Emperor of China was then only the friend and patron of the Lamas of Tibet, but in 1816 their political existence was absolutely ignored. This change seems to have resulted from the resort to Chinese military aid, in order to repel the Nipalese incursion of 1792.

Tibet thus rested in its sleep of isolation, shut out from European travellers and unheard of in the annals of the world's history, until the Sikh conquest of Ladak and Balti, on its western frontier, disturbed in some measure its repose. Zorawur Singh, the Sikh general, who commanded the expedition, sent from Kashmeer by Goolab Singh in 1839, after taking Ladak and Iskardo, marched up the valley of the Indus into Gnari, a province of Tibet, and captured Gurtokh, its capital. His force was inconsiderable, and he wrote in vain for supplies and reinforcements. They were not easily furnished across the many intervening ranges of snow-capped mountains. Winter was now approaching, and Zorawur Singh fortified for himself a cantonment near Gurtokh, when a Chinese and Tibetan force surrounded him and cut off his supplies. His detachment was thus overpowered and himself slain. About 120 miserable Sikh fugitives found their way, half frozen, across the Niti Pass, into the British province of Kumaon,

and told the tale. This occurred in the winter of 1842, at the very time when the British force of Kabool was similarly overpowered by the Afghans. The Chinese and Tibetans did not follow up their victory, and made no use of it to extend their frontier towards Ladak. The Sikhs, therefore, soon recovered, and have since maintained, their possession of the valleys as well of the Indus, up to Debrung, as of the entire Shayuk river. When the Sikh war with the British closed in the establishment of our ascendancy in the Punjab, and in the permanent assignment of Kashmeer and its tributaries to Raja Goolab Singh, British officers were sent to ascertain and settle the frontier line of the territory so committed to his management, where it met that of territory subject to Tibet or China. This duty was executed by Lieutenant Strachey, whose mission has furnished much geographical information and many scientific details respecting the elevated regions he visited beyond the Himalaya, and in which these two rivers have their sources.

While, however, Tibet has been thus hermetically sealed against us on the side of India, two French missionaries have succeeded in effecting a passage into it, and in reaching its capital, Lassa, from the north-east. They came from the Koko Noor by the same route that had been followed by

fathers Grueber and Dorville, two centuries before, and one of them, Monsieur Huc, has recently published in two volumes, in French, a full account of the incidents of this journey. It is the conviction of the trustworthiness of the information contained in these volumes, and the desire to make it more extensively known to the British public, and especially to those Englishmen whose occupations abroad give value to authentic details regarding the habits, religion and geography of these little known regions, that we have been led to make this compilation and to compress the substance of M. Huc's work into the following pages.

Every one has heard of the mission established at Pekin under French Jesuits. The founder of it was Pere Ricci, who went from Macaointo the interior of China, in A.D. 1585, and established himself in the first instance at Nankin. He was a good mathematician, and making himself master of the Chinese language, published some maps of the world in Chinese; and gave lessons and instructions generally in European sciences. He thus acquired in that country a high reputation for learning, and commenced circulating tracts upon religion, and upon the immortality of the soul, and a future state. Sometimes persecuted, and sometimes applauded and followed, he removed, after a few years, from Nankin to Pekin, where he was well

received; and his doctrines made an impression on some nobles of the court. He lived there for many years, the recognised head of several missionary establishments, located in different parts of China, making many converts, and respected by all until his death, which occurred at the age of fifty-seven, in the year 1610. The Ming dynasty was at this period in its decadence. Chun-chi, the Manchoo Tartar completed its fall in 1644. During these convulsions the French Jesuits met with varied fortune; but Chun-Chi, upon his assumption of the imperial dignity, in the year stated, called Father Schall, the successor of Father Ricci, to his court at Pekin, and received him there with great distinction, nominating him president of the tribunal of mathematics, and giving him the *entrée* to his own presence at all times, with other favours. Upon Chun-Chi's death, at an advanced age, in A.D. 1662, his successor, Kang-hi, was only eight years old, and during his minority the Jesuits and their converts were proscribed and persecuted by the Chinese tribunals. Father Adam Schall died in prison during these persecutions, under sentence of death, and the Jesuit missions were for a time broken up. But when Kang-hi came to his majority, and took into his own hands the reins of power, he caused the sentence of condemnation passed against Adam

Schall to be reversed, and received the Jesuits again into favour. A maternal uncle of the Emperor declared himself a convert in A.D. 1672, and was publicly baptized; others followed, and fresh missions were, at this period, established in different parts of China, where the religion spread rapidly. Father Verbien, the successor of Adam Schall, wrote now to the Pope, to ask for assistance in the work of conversion; and further missions of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustins, were despatched from Rome, to carry out the views and realize the high expectations then entertained. Father Verbien died unfortunately just at the time when these reinforcements arrived, and a schism then arose between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, as to the propriety of allowing Chinese converts to continue the rites and observances practised universally by that nation in honour of parents and ancestors. The Jesuits were for yielding this, and for not regarding the reverence so paid to ancestry in the light of an idolatrous worship inconsistent with the Christian notion of the Divine nature, as the sole object of adoration and prayer. Not so the Dominicans; and this schism not only divided and paralyzed the action of the missions in China, but for nearly a century it was debated all over Europe, and was carried even to the papal authority for final de-

cision. After many rescripts, and several fruitless attempts to reconcile differences and avoid giving a final judgment, Clement XI. at last, in 1710, declared finally against yielding any indulgence to Chinese usage in the matter of reverence to parents and ancestors, and sent out a Legate Cardinal, a M. de Tournon, to enforce this decision, in 1715.

Kang-hi, the Chinese Emperor, had in the mean time taken the Jesuits into great favour. He employed them in rectifying his calendar, and in surveying and mapping his dominions, and in teaching his subjects to cast cannon and other useful arts, and but for this schism magnificent results might have followed. But when he heard of the Pope's decision in favour of the Dominicans, he took a decided part for the maintenance of the institutions and usages of his own subjects. He treated the Legate, M. de Tournon, with harshness, and ordered him back to Canton immediately he learned that he was the bearer of orders from the Pope, to disallow parental reverence, and the usual observances; and Christianity was exhibited and proclaimed to the Chinese, as a false and seditious conspiracy to overturn the laws and institutions of the empire, and to set sons against fathers, and wives against husbands. It is on this ground that the preaching and proclaiming of Christianity

is to this day proscribed in China. All the persecutions of the eighteenth century had their origin in the conviction, that the defence and maintenance of the ancient laws in favour of the parental authority required an overt action against doctrines quite repugnant to these usages and observances, and which substituted the priest for the parent in every family.

But Kanghi, though he took this strong part against the papal decree in support of the Dominicans, continued to favour the Jesuits of his court, whose scientific services he still needed. He died in 1722, after a prosperous reign of sixty years. Yong-Ching, who succeeded him, encouraged the tribunals in their persecution of the converts to Christianity, and even banished from court the Jesuits, and several members of his own family, who favoured the new religion.

Kien-long, who succeeded to the throne in 1735, and who reigned, like Kang-hi, for sixty years, recalled his Christian relatives from exile, and seemed at first favourably disposed to the Jesuit missions; but upon a representation from his high officers, he at last passed an edict for the expulsion of all priests and missionaries. The Jesuits were, at this period, proscribed in Europe also, and the mission they had established in China languished in consequence, and fell into in-

action; and thus, for want of due support to keep alive the zeal both of professors and preachers the hope of extensively spreading Christianity in China yielded to the severity with which the edicts against preaching its doctrines were carried into execution. Some Jesuits appear, however, to have been permitted to maintain a small establishment at Pekin, for the purpose of assisting in the preparation of the annual almanacks; but they were restricted from preaching, and not allowed to travel, or to communicate freely with strangers, and were scarcely recognised. The Emperor Kia-King, who ascended the throne in 1799, completed the destruction of the hopes of the propagandists, and driving the last remains of the French mission out of Pekin, renewed the persecution of converts with greater rigour.

In China Proper, there are tribunals with a strict police, and a machinery of local administration, that made it nearly impossible for converts to Christianity to evade the law and escape punishment. They were everywhere discovered and plundered; and if they would not consent to renounce the new faith, their lives even were in danger. But the influence of Chinese laws, and of the civil power for the execution of edicts is very different beyond the Great Wall. In Mongolia, called by the Chinese the Land of Herbs, the Tartar tribes retain

their own laws and forms of government. Each Khan, or Tao-tse tributary, rules his own tribe, and the simple habits of the men of the desert make that rule very light and easy. The Chinese, taking advantage of this simplicity, emigrate largely from China, and settle in the valleys of Mongolia, wherever they can find a soil that will repay cultivation. They appear to settle down as separate and nearly independent communities, under elected chiefs or captains, and whether dealing with the chief of a tribe, or with individuals, contrive generally to get the better, displacing the nomade population, and establishing their own usages and modes of life. The persecution of Christian converts by the Chinese authorities, led many of them to become emigrants to Mongolia. Several settlements were accordingly formed by them in the valleys of the southern feeders of the river Amour, or Sagalien, about one hundred miles due north of Pekin. In the days of the Republic, and of the Empire in France, little heed was taken of the relations of the ancient French Church with these people; but upon the restoration of the Bourbons they became the subject of inquiry, and zealous men of the religious orders were not wanting to undertake the mission of reclaiming and bringing again within that Church the scattered flock of its persecuted proselytes. In the Ooniot district of

" the Land of Herbs," there is a valley called that of " the Black Waters," whither many of the Chinese converts had retired. There an establishment was formed under Lazarist missionaries from Paris, which unobtrusively following its vocation, gathered together a considerable congregation of these converts, and brought many Mongolians also to accept the Christian creed. Hearing of their success, the Roman Pontiff, in 1842, appointed the head of this mission, who resided at Siwang, to be his vicar-apostolic in Mongolia. Excited by this to fresh efforts, these Lazarist missionaries conceived the design of exploring the desert further, and of penetrating even into Tibet, with a view to the establishment there of a subordinate mission. Two members of the brotherhood, Messrs. Gabet and Huc, were selected by the vicar-apostlic for this adventurous duty; and the account, recently published by the latter, of the circumstances and events of their journey, and of its toils and dangers, furnishes proof abundant of the judicious selection made, and of the high qualifications for the undertaking possessed by both missionaries. In the dress and character of Tibetan Lamas, attended by a single servant, a man of a half-civilised race from the vicinity of the Koko-noor, who had been brought to profess Christianity, these two French gentlemen started

from the "Valley of Black Waters," north of Pekin, to live for years the life of Tartars of the desert; subsisting on their meagre fare, and enduring all their hardships and privations; cherished and supported during their severe trials by the high aim of their sacred calling, and by their devotion to the faith they desired to spread. They took the line of the great wall of China, but kept generally on the desert side of it, and so followed up the Hoang-Ho, or Yellow River, till they reached and rounded its sources. Wintering in the valley of the Koko-noor, Salt Lake, they next year crossed the yet more mighty Yang-tse-Kiang, or Blue River, and so reached the Snowy Mountains and high table-lands of Tibet, which separate the waters of China from those of India. Passing these in the midst of winter, they penetrated at last to the city of Lassa, where they were well received by the Tibetan authorities. There it was their design to have established a separate mission under the Mongolian vicar-apostolic; but the Chinese envoy at Lassa, the same Ke-Shin, who met the British admiral at the mouth of the Pichelee, in 1840, and who negotiated the first treaty with Mr. Elliot afterwards at Canton, laid his veto on the scheme, and sent the two missionaries back into China, by a route, hitherto, so far as we know, quite unexplored by any European. They

passed among the mountains north of Bootan and Ava, and so made their way due east to the plains of " the Central Flowery Land," where these are watered by the Yang-tse-Kiang, in its full magnificence. It is of this journey, and of its hardships, perils and privations, exceeding perhaps those ever endured by travellers who lived to tell the tale, that M. Huc has given us his recollections. The travellers could keep no journal; their lives would have been forfeited, if they had been seen to take notes, or to make sketches of what they saw and heard. It is on this account, that we find a lamentable deficiency of dates, distances, and of other particulars of the kind that one usually looks for in books of travels. Nevertheless, there is in the volumes an aggregate of intelligence, and a fund of characteristic traits, and well-told anecdotes, bearing intrinsically the stamp of truth, and that gives to them a value and an interest far exceeding those of ordinary books of the kind, and sufficient fully to compensate the reader for the want of the scientific details of a Humboldt and a Pallas. But what is in our eyes by far the most important part of these recollections of M. Huc, is the details we find there of the monastic and academic institutions of Tartary and Tibet, and of the studies, habits, and discipline of the several classes of Lamas. The two

missionaries lived for months together in lamaserais, or convents, in the valley of the Kokonoor, Salt Lake, associating daily with Lamas of all degrees, and mixing in their studies. Their information on these subjects, therefore, is not that of mere passing travellers; and their observations on the working of the Boodhist monastic system, in its influence on the people, and in its relations with the Manchoo Government of China, derive additional value from their own connection with similar institutions of Europe.

But we trespass on the patience of our readers by this preface. They will be impatient for a summary of the real contents of the volumes. To this, therefore, we hasten.

In preparation for the journey, the missionaries employed a Mongol convert to procure camels from the borders of Tibet. They had nearly despaired of the arrival of these animals, owing to the time that had elapsed since they heard of their dispatch, and had in consequence made arrangements for their own departure in a waggon of the country, when the camels made their appearance, under their faithful conductor, a Chiaour of Northern Tibet, named Sambda-Chamba, who had been brought up as a Lama before his conversion, and still wore the dress. The caravan was then arranged, and commenced its march in

the following order:—The Tibetan led, mounted on a black mule, and drawing after him a string of two camels, bearing a tent and the baggage. M. Gabet rode next upon a dromedary, and M. Huc brought up the rear, mounted on a white horse. These, with a watch-dog, formed the entire train that started for a journey of five-and-twenty degrees of longitude and ten of latitude, across the unknown elevated regions of central Asia. Before starting, the missionaries had to change their costume. Amongst their Chinese converts, they had dressed habitually in the secular habit of China, wearing the long tail, so inestimably prized by all of this nation. For the journey, they shaved their heads, and assumed the same dress as their conductor, Sambda Chamba, which was the secular habit of a Tibetan Lama. This was essential for the character the travellers intended to bear, which was that of Lamas of the west, come to inquire into the doctrines and ritual of Tibet, the holy ground of the Boodhist religion. As laymen (called by Tibetans, black men), it would have been impossible for them to have talked of religion, or to have shown any acquaintance with its doctrines or ritual, but as secular Lamas the enquiry was both natural and praiseworthy. The missionaries, though they carried a tent, were glad to put up at the hotels of the country, where

there were any, as was ordinarily the case, within the frontiers of China Proper. There they found always a hot meal, and a *kang*, or elevated dais, so contrived as to be heated by the same fire that served to boil the caldron that cooked their dinners. The guests sit cross-legged upon the kang for their meal, and spread their beds afterwards in rows, with their feet towards one other, and so in the severest winter our travellers contrived to sleep with some comfort. In the tent there was no such security from the cold, and sometimes they had the greatest difficulty in even lighting a fire, which, at the best, was but of argols or dung-fuel.

Yan-pa-ool was the direct town from which the start was made. Thence, after three hours of laborious ascent, the caravan reached the table-land of the Sain-oula Mountains, in which the Chara Mooren, a large tributary of the Amour or Sagalien, has its sources. On this table-land, the travellers began their experience of the hardships of Tartar travel. After pitching their tent, they had to collect the argols, or dung, left by the camels and other animals of preceding caravans, which ordinarily was the only fuel available throughout the whole of their long journey. With this fuel, when they had made their pot to boil, they heated some "*Kwamin*," a kind of vermicelli, prepared for the

purpose, which, with a slice of bacon added, when procurable, formed the whole of their luxurious meal at the commencement of the journey. As they proceeded, this meal was reduced to "Tsamba," a decoction of brick-tea,* and meal mixed up with a little butter. For more than an entire year, these French missionaries had very rarely a superior meal to such as we have above described, and never better beds than their skin cloaks spread upon the ground. Hear this, ye travellers by rail and steam-boat! who grumble if your dinner of three courses be not served in ten minutes, and who find nothing but discomfort in the princely hotels of the Rhine and of the high roads of Europe!

On the table-land of the Sainoolla, the travellers crossed part of the hunting ground of Jeho-ool, which they describe as of surpassing beauty and richness. The descent to the south-west brought them to the district of Jeshekten (Gechekten), a fertile country, in which Chinese industry and chicanery are encroaching largely on the pastoral habits, and on the properties of the Mongols. In this district, as well as in that of the Qoniots, left by the missionaries on the other side of the Sain-

* The tea of Tartary is formed into bricks by compression of the leaves, and is very coarse and inferior to that sold by the Chinese for the European market.

oola range, gold is procured in abundance. It exists in mines; and there is a class of men among the Chinese, who possess, or pretend to, the power of discovering from the soil and vegetation where this metal is to be found. Upon a discovery being declared by one of these, parties of vagabonds gather about him, who, with their head-quarters at the mine, commit excesses far exceeding those of California, and subsist by plundering the entire neighbourhood. M. Huc tells a story of a body of miners, who so settled in the Ooniot country to the number of 12,000, and for two years were the terror of the vicinity. At last, a Mongol princess passing near the mine, was plundered of her jewels, which induced the Ooniot chieftain to collect his horde for vengeance. The Chinese were overpowered and massacred without mercy, and many of them taking refuge in their mine, the mouth was blocked up, and they perished miserably. This, be it observed, was not 200 miles from the capital, and shows how little real authority the Chinese government possesses over the free hordes of Mongolia; but of that, more presently. From Jeshekten, the travellers passed into the district of the eight banners of Chakars, the same nation apparently that Father Rubruquis calls Jugures. There, meeting some Tartars in search of stray horses, they were much importuned to cast a

horoscopè to determine in what direction the lost animals would be found. Their servant wondered at their refusal, and told how well he had fared heretofore by acceding to such requests. Divination, it seems, is one of the recognised sources of a Lama's livelihood.

In the Chakar district, they came to the city of Tolo-Noor (seven lakes) called by Chinese "Lama Mias," by Mongols "Nadan Omo," by Tibetans "Sat Doon." On the French map the place bears the name of "Naiman Soomè." What can a geographer do with such a nomenclature? This city, like most of those of China, has no municipality, no police, no drainage, no pavement, no lights. The passage through its streets is, in consequence, perilous as well as difficult, from obstructions of all kinds; if a wheel carriage upsets, a mob plunders it with impunity, and camels and other laden animals are frequently disabled in the muddy quagmires, and similarly at once rifled. Still, the city is a great mart of the commerce of Tartary, as well with Northern China as with Kiakhta. There are foundries in Tolo-Noor for casting brass and iron statues, bells and metal utensils of all kinds, and the missionaries witnessed the dispatch to Tibet of a statue of Boodh, cast in pieces, and laden upon eighty-four camels. They availed themselves of the opportunity of their

visit to this mart, to have a Christ cast in bronze after a French model, and M. Huc bears testimony to the high state of art of the Chinese, declaring that it was impossible to distinguish the copy from the original.

On the 1st of October, 1844, one of the very few dates of our calendar given by M. Huc, the missionaries left Tolo-Noor. Their camels passed through the slippery and deep mire of the streets with extreme difficulty. But they were no sooner beyond the suburbs, than they entered upon the sands of the great Tartar desert. After a fatiguing day's march, they encamped at a mineral spring of very nauseous water, but finding wood fuel, made a luxurious meal. The next day they fell in with the suite of a princess of the royal race of Jungeez Khan, of the Khalkhas tribe, who was travelling upon a pilgrimage to the famous Boodhist monastery of the five towers in the province of Shense. They left the princess, after a courteous interchange of civilities, and pushed on until overtaken by a storm of wind and rain, in the midst of which they vainly endeavoured to set up their tent and light their fire. They were relieved by some hospitable Mongols, who saw their distress. One of these proved to be a soldier, not long returned from the war with the English. He stated the order of service in the Chinese empire

to be that "first the Chinese militia are sent against an invading enemy. Next the banner of the Solo hordes is raised. After them the Chakar tribes are called out." "Were all the Chakars called out on this occasion?" asked the missionaries. "Yes," said the soldier, "all." "At first, little was thought of the war, and it was said the Chakars will not be required; but the Chinese militia could do nothing. The Solo troops marched, but the heat of the South destroyed them. Then came the Emperor's order into our country; every one immediately furbished his arms and prepared for the campaign. For six generations we had not been called upon, but the Emperor, who gave us this fine country, now required our services. We felt we must answer the call. The eight banners were gathered, and we marched to Pekin. Thence they sent us to Tien-Tsin-vei, where we were in camp for three months." "Did you ever see the enemy and meet them in battle?" "No! he dared not show himself. The Chinese told us we were marching to certain death; that the enemy were sea monsters, hiding themselves under water, and coming out when not expected, to discharge fiery water melons (bombs and shells), that before one could bend a bow against them, they disappeared again under water, like frogs. Us, too, they thought to frighten with such stories.

But we cared not. The Grand Lama had been consulted and had assured us of a prosperous issue. We had a Lama acquainted with medicine attached to each (Chounda) company, and why should we fear? But the enemy, when they heard of our approach, were alarmed and sued for peace; and our holy master (the Emperor) acceded to their request out of compassion, so we returned without meeting him." This Mongol soldier left the missionaries before they could further satisfy their curiosity about the events of the war.

The Chakar country is bounded on the east by Jeshekten, on the west by Tourmet, and by the Sooniot district on the north, and is said to be a hundred and fifty leagues long, by a hundred broad. The district was assigned to the eight banners of the Chakar horde as a barrier against the Khalkhas, which, as being the tribe of Jungeez Khan, the Manchoos view with great jealousy, as well because of its ancient glories, as of the aspirations which the descendants of this mighty conqueror still delight to entertain. A Chakar cannot sell his assigned land to other than a Chakar. A Chinese purchaser is at once ejected. The Chakars are guardians of the imperial stud and draw considerable emoluments from the frauds which the trust enables them to perpetrate.

From the Chakar country, the missionaries passed

to Chaborté (the swamp), which they reached on the day of the Yue-ping (moon cake) festival. This festival is of great antiquity; but, since the year 1368, it has been kept by the Chinese with particular honour; for in that year, a Sicilian vesper was prepared secretly against the Tartars, and the announcement of the hour of rising was circulated in the cakes of the festival. This perversion of the rites of the day has, however, been forgotten in the lapse of years, and Mongols now join with the Chinese in its celebration. The missionaries were invited by a Mongol to partake of the festivities, and with very questionable good breeding reminded the host of the massacre of his ancestors, to which the festival had contributed; but this did not affect the cordiality of their reception. They were presented with brother Benjamin's slices of the fat of monstrous sheep's-tails, a great delicacy, though far beyond their digestive powers. They divided and distributed the tit-bits among the guests, and then fared heartily on the flesh. A Toolholos sang in this assembly several national songs commemorative of the glory of the Mongols, and amongst them, the spirited lament for Tymoor, so exciting to a Tartar. He gave them but half-an-hour, and then went his round to other households, singing at each for a large gratuity, proportioned to his skill. After a stay of two days, to

replenish their stores with fresh purchases, they prepared for a start from Shaborté, but found their mule and horse missing. The friendly Mongols undertook the search, and soon recovered them. The missionaries then took the route to Koko Khoton, or "the blue city." On the third day of their march, they fell in with a deserted city, the walls of which they found entire, and the houses half buried in sand and earth. The place had the appearance of having been so deserted for centuries, and no Tartar could furnish information either of the time or cause of the desertion. M. Huc says that the desert abounds in such remains of all dimensions. He assigned to them a date coeval with the expulsion of the Mongols from China, and ascribed them to the severities of Young-ho, an early sovereign of the Ming dynasty, who endeavoured to annihilate the Tartars. We should rather suspect some failure of water to be the cause of the desertion of these localities, for if the site were favourable, they would assuredly have been soon re-peopled. Near this ruined city, the travellers crossed the great southern road from Kiakta, by which the Russian missions are ordinarily conducted to Pekin.

Two more days carried the travellers into the kingdom of Efé, a part of the ancient territory of the Khalkhas, lost by them during the wars which

preceded the establishment of the present dynasty. The early sovereigns of Manchoo race gave this tract to the Chakars; but it was taken again from the eight banners of this nation, to be given by Kienlong as dower of a princess of the imperial family, married by him to a prince of the ancient race of Jungeez.

The Mongols of Efé are famous for their skill as wrestlers, and from infancy are continually training themselves. They take pride in carrying off the prizes in the annual contests held at many places, one of which occurred when M. Timkouski was at Oorga, and he certifies to the skill of this tribe.

On the 22nd day of the 8th moon, after passing out of Efé, the travellers crossed a range of hills on the road to the Chorchi Lamaserai, of one of the inmates of which they had heretofore made a convert, while he taught them the Mongol language. There are 200 Lamas on the Chorchi establishment, which, being a favourite of the Emperor's, has been richly endowed. But these institutions rarely owe their origin to imperial bounty. When it is proposed to build one, a number of Lamas start in all directions to collect subscriptions from the pious. Wherever they go, they are hospitably received, and rarely fail to make a large collection, which, on their return, is devoted to the erection of suitable buildings of brick or stone:

Round these again, the pious further build temples and tombs, by which means the desert is soon converted into the appearance of a city. The Lamas are themselves the sculptors and painters, and frequently the artificers also in the construction of these edifices. The principal Lamaserai of all Mongolia is that of the Great Kouren (the Oorga Kooren, of Tim-kouski), situated in the country of the Khalkas, on the banks of the Toula river, and standing on the edge of the great forest that stretches northward into Siberia. To the south, lies the desert of a month's journey. It, stands, however, in a pleasant valley, amid mountains near the source of the Toula, which river falls into the great Baikal lake. There are 30,000 Lamas, under several heads, at Oorga; their chief is the Geesoo-Tamba, a regenerated Boodh, of great sanctity. There has, of course, risen a large city and mart of commerce in the immediate vicinity of the convent, and it is the head quarters of Mongolia, having been the capital of the princes of the family of Jungeez Khan, before their conquest of China. Tea-bricks are here the measures of value, an ounce of silver representing five tea-bricks. There are Chinese mandarins at Grand Kouren, ostensibly to preserve the peace amongst the Chinese merchants, —but, in reality, to act as spies on the Geesoo-Tamba, whose influence and power are very much

dreaded at Pekin. In 1839, the Geesoo-Tamba announced a visit to the court of Pekin, which was the cause of great alarm. His retinue was ordered to be reduced to 3,000 Lamas, and the three petty sovereigns of Oorga, descended from Jungeez, were forbidden to accompany him. Still, as this hierarch marched through Mongolia, he was received everywhere with extraordinary honours. Supplies were provided, and wells dug at the resting-places of his route, and the Tartars thronged from all parts to meet and worship him. At the Great Wall, half his small retinue was further stopped, still his presence gave great inquietude to the imperial government, and he was soon dispatched from the capital, to visit the Lamaserai of the Five Towers, and the Blue City. He died on his way home, the victim, it was said, of imperial jealousy; for it was strongly suspected that he received at Pekin a slow poison. It is very much the custom for these sanctified persons to die, before they reach the seats of their spiritual supremacy, on their return. Perhaps the Chinese know they return dissatisfied in their hearts, if not disgusted, with the result of their visit to Pekin; and fearing, therefore, to leave this feeling rankling in the breast of persons of such extensive influence, prefer to promote a regeneration, and to take the opportunity of professing reverence and regret, and the most profound per-

sonal attachment, in a long obituary notice in the Pekin Gazette.

In 1844, the Geesoo Tamba was regenerated in Tibet, and our missionaries met in the Koko-noor valley the mission of Khalkas Tartars, which was proceeding to bring him from thence to the Grand Kooren monastery. In Mongolia, besides the Grand Kooren monastery at Oorga, there are the Mingan Lamari Kooren, i.e., the thousand Lama monastery, also that of Koko Khoton, "the Blue City," and the Polou-noor, and Jeho-ool, Lama-serais, in all of which, the Lamas have both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Within the wall of China there are the monasteries of Pekin, of the Five Towers, and of Shensi, all of the same high rank and privileges.

From Chorchi, the missionaries entered again the territory of the Chakars. They were now in the lands of the Red Banner of that nation. From thence, after several days march, they passed into Western Tourmet. The eastern district of that name lies on the other side of the Chakar territory. In the western district Chinese habits have the ascendancy, and agriculture is extending. Everything seemed here prosperous, and trees even had been planted on the road-side. Three days march in Western Tourmet brought the travellers to the "Blue City"—Koko-Khoton, as it is called

in Mongolian—Kui-hwa-chen in Chinese. There are two cities close to one another, the old and the new; the new being the Tartar, or military establishment, built by Kang-hi, with magnificent walls. Here the missionaries found a force of 10,000 men, under a Kiang-kian. The soldiers were originally Manchoo Tartars, but had nearly forgotten the Manchoo language. The missionaries remarked, indeed, that generally, in China as well as in Mongolia, the Manchoos had lost their nationality as the result of their ascendancy. A Manchoo is under obligation to enrol himself under some banner, and, failing to do so, loses his privileges. Many neglect to enrol themselves voluntarily in order to avoid the conscription. The Sifo and Solon are the highest tribes of Manchoos. These are proud of their position and history, but without much cause on the ground of antiquity or of civilization, for the Manchoos had no written character until 1641, nor was the language reduced to rule, and arranged in dictionaries and grammars, until the reign of Kien Long, that is towards the end of the eighteenth century. Mokden is the native capital of the Manchoos. The Emperor has a palace there, and it is a handsome city, one quarter of which is appropriated to the "Yellow Belts," that is, to the members of the Imperial family. In the northern districts, near the

Sagalien, a very productive kind of cotton is said to grow, yielding, says M. Huc, in a square of fifteen feet, French, as much as two thousand pounds of cotton.

Losing themselves in the muddy streets of Koko-Khoton, the travellers were exposed to the villany of a sharper, who reckoned upon *selling* them as Tartar simpletons, but they extricated themselves adroitly by taking refuge in the very respectable Chinese hotel of "three perfections." Here established, they prepared for the coming winter by the purchase of sheep-skin cloaks and clothing. There is no coined money in China, except the brass pieces with a hole in the centre, of which every one will have seen specimens. Silver is sold by the weight, and an ounce is the equivalent of from 1700 to 1800 of these brass coins, which are called sapeks by the Europeans, by the Chinese Tien, and by Tartars Deboy. In taking change for some ounces of silver to make these purchases, the Chinese money-changer, thinking he was dealing with simple Tartar Lamas, allowed a high rate, and gave full weight, but endeavoured to cheat in the calculation; the missionaries, however, with their arithmetic, were too much for the Chinese money-changer, with his saopan, and got their full change. Their means compelled them to put up with second-hand sheep-skin cloaks, and fox-skin caps; they took, however, the precaution to treat

them with a mercurial process to get rid of the vermin, a necessary operation before they could venture to wear them.

At Koko-Khoton there are five great Lamaserais, in each of which there are more than 2000 Lamas, besides fifteen smaller ones; 20,000 is thus a low estimate for the number of Lamas in this famous city. The chief of the whole is a "Hobilgan," established at the Five Towers; that is, a Lama, who, having by abstraction and study, obtained Boodhism, has been transmitted since by regeneration. In the reign of Kanghi, the *Geesoo-Tamba resided at Koko-Khoton; and that emperor paid him a visit when on an expedition against the Ooloo, or Ili tribes. The insolent Boodh received him without rising or taking the least notice, whereupon a military mandarin, in attendance, drew his sword and slew him on the spot. The city was immediately in *émeute*, and the Emperor's person was for some time in great danger: most of those with him were sacrificed, and amongst them the perpetrator of the violence on the Geesoo Tamba. The Khalkhas tribe of Mongolia took up the cause, and declaring that the

* M. Timkowski says "Koutouktou, in Mongol, and Goussée (Geesoo) in Tibetan, is the name of the highest class of the priests of Boudha; the one resident at Ourga is called by the Mongols, Gheghen Koûtoukton"

Geesoo Tamba had re-appeared in their country, established a grand Lama with that title at Grand Kouren. Everything was ripe for an insurrection; but Kang-hi proved equal to the occasion. He immediately courted the Delai Lama, of Lassa, and through him gained over all the Lamas of Tibet and Tartary not already compromised in the quarrel. Thus he restored tranquillity without further collision or violence. The Lamas of Grand Kouren, however, wear to this day a black border on the collar of their yellow dress, in memory and in mourning for this slaughtered Geesoo Tamba. It was settled on this occasion that the Geesoo Tamba should remain at Grand Kouren, and an Hobilgan replace him at Koko-Khoton, and that the regeneration of the Geesoo Tamba should always take place hereafter in Tibet, by which means the local influence and attachments of this hierarch are much diminished. Koko-Khoton is an university in which Lamas from all parts come to study and take degrees, returning afterwards to their provincial establishments. Lamas are of three kinds—the religious, who devote themselves to study and abstraction, and become teachers, and eventually saints; the domestic, who live in families, or attach themselves to tribes and localities; and the itinerant, who are always moving from convent to convent, and travelling for travel's

sake, often without aim, not knowing at all where they are going. There is no country that some of these have not visited, and when they have a religious or partisan feeling they must be the best spies in the world.

In the monasteries of Mongolia there is a strict religious discipline, but each Lama has generally his cows and sheep, as well as a horse. Almost every establishment is nobly endowed, and the funds are distributed on fixed days in the year in proportions, regulated by the rank attained by each member. But each Lama is free to seek other emoluments, such as by practising as a physician, or by performing domestic religious services, or by casting horoscopes, or in any similar manner, not inconsistent with the profession of a Lama. Some attain wealth, which, having no families, they generally spend prodigally. The number of Lamas in Tartary is extreme; almost all the younger sons are devoted from infancy to this destiny; the eldest only being brought up as laymen, to tend the flocks and keep up the family. The younger brothers have no choice, but have their heads shaven from childhood. It is said to be the policy of the court of Pekin to encourage this multiplication of Lamas among the Tartars, in the idea that it checks the increase of population. The shaven are, however, the most intel-

ligent and influential, if not the most numerous body of these sons of the desert, and the Chinese pay court to them assiduously in consequence. In China Proper the corresponding class of Bonzes is quite neglected by the government, and has sunk intothe most abject poverty. The reason is obvious. A regenerated Boodh of Tibet or Tartary can at any time call round him thousands of devoted Lama followers, ready to sacrifice their lives at his bidding; and these no less than the lay Tartars, whom they lead by their religious influence, have a high military spirit, and the recollection of the past glories of their race in the days of Jungeez and of Tymoor, to excite them to great enterprises. It is hence the study of the Chinese, and a recognised part of their policy, to associate this influence with the State, just as the Church in Europe is made by most governments an engine of order and of civil government. To effect this, the government of Pekin contributes largely to all the monastic institutions of Mongolia, Tibet and Tartary, and supports the hierarchy and even the theocracies established by aspiring priests in various parts, as at Lassa, and at the Grand Kooren of Oorga, using these institutions to control the nobility as well as to lead the mob. But there is at each seat of theocratic government a skilful Chinese diplomatist, who advises, and even controls, the deified

Lama; and who, upon occasions for political action of any kind, is the prompter and director of all affairs, holding the strings and wires that move the puppet, while they treat him with all outward respect and reverence.

On the fourth day of the ninth moon the missionaries left Koko Khoton, but found the utmost difficulty in leading their camels through the narrow, ever-muddy streets. The country they now passed through was rich and highly cultivated. On the second day they put up at an inn, where they met a singular character, who called himself a "Tartar-devourer," and who was an agent to recover debts owing to Chinese. The next day they arrived at Chagan-Kooren, or the "White Enclosure." As they reached it, they fell in with a caravan of camels laden with merchandize of the west, which extended for fifteen lis, or five miles. It had been travelling for five months across the desert, and came probably from Kashghar.

They arrived at the town late at night, and found a lodging with difficulty at a hospitable Mongol's. They were now approaching the Hoang-Ho, or Yellow River, and learned here that the inundations were out, and the passage across nearly impossible. They determined, nevertheless, to attempt it. Chagan-Kooren is a new town, built with great regularity, having broad sheets

and open squares; but the inundation reached to its suburbs, and the camels after leaving it had to proceed on muddy embankments, through fields with the water up to their knees; while the whole plain before them had the appearance of a great lake. At a village which they reached, after a laborious but short march, they bargained with some boatmen for the passage, and were asked two thousand sapeks to carry them over the first channel. They reduced the charge to eight hundred, and were so conveyed to a station on the bank of the main stream, which was rapid but not very broad. Here they bargained again to be carried across this channel for another thousand sapeks, making an ounce of silver for the whole passage. Their camels were taken into the boat at the second passage, an enterprise effected with extreme difficulty. They had forded the first stream under bad guidance and were nearly lost. The missionaries, after crossing this main stream, had yet a third branch, the Paga-Gol, to get over, and a march across muddy inundated fields to make before they could reach its bank. That march effected, they remained some days on the northern bank of the Paga-gool, disputing about the terms of transport. At last they effected the transit by the favour of a fisherman, who having been bitten by a fierce dog, came to them for medical treat-

ment. When the styptic they administered had been applied with success, the fisherman, being ashamed of his inability to pay the usual fee, undertook for the passage of the party on reasonable terms. The right of ferry, it may be observed, is a monopoly enjoyed under a royal grant by a family, whose exorbitant demand was beyond the travellers' means, and this was the cause of their long detention at this point.

Beyond the Paga Gol lies the country of the Ortoos, which extends a hundred leagues from east to west, and sixty-six from north to south. In A.D. 1635, the tribes of this region sided with the Manchoos, in their contest with the last of the Ming dynasty, and thus came into great favour with Kanghi, who declared them the most honest and intelligent of his subjects, and the best cattle breeders of all the Mongol Tartars. But the country is a sandy desert throughout, producing nothing except wild hemp, the dried remains of which formed a fuel much superior to the argols, or camel's dung, which our travellers usually depended upon for their meal. But the great want of this country is water, and owing to the sterility in consequence, the Ortoos are in the greatest misery, and beggars are here more numerous than in Ireland. In crossing the Ortoos territory, the travellers encountered a storm of wind, and rain and

snow, that reduced them to the greatest possible state of distress and difficulty. But they found by good fortune, some caves and deserted rock habitations, which gave them shelter, and afforded the means of drying their clothes and refitting the caravan. They met here a Tartar, who told them that the caves had been thus prepared by a party of Chinese who had settled there to cultivate the adjacent lands. When they grew rich and insolent, the Tartars resolved to expel them, and accordingly drove cattle into their ripe fields, destroying the entire crop, which had led to the Chinese decamping in a body about two years before. After leaving these caves, the missionaries experienced the extreme cold of one of those winds of Tartary, which are described as so terrible. The cold was too severe to allow of their continuing the march, and it gave them full employment to collect fuel for a good fire. After a halt of two days, the wind becoming more moderate, they resumed their march, but could not draw their tent pins without first heating them several times with hot water poured round them. They had, however, no sooner commenced the march than they felt the heat quite oppressive; such are the alternations of temperature in that terrible climate. On the 15th day of the Ninth Moon, the missionaries fell in with pilgrims on their way to Rashchooren, to see

a Lama, who had vowed there to cut open his bowels in public. For this the devotee prepares by long penance, prayer, and abstraction: on the day appointed he sits on an altar, and deliberately ripping open his belly, lays the bowels before him, and so falling into a kind of trance, answers oracularly all questions put by the pilgrims. The operation finished, he gathers his bowels up again, and reciting a long prayer, readjusts his girdle as if nothing had happened. We commend this miracle to the Magician of the North. The missionaries resolved to go a little out of their road to witness the exhibition, but lost their way, and passed a miserable night in the desert. Beyond the monastery of Rash-chooren, they came to the salt lakes of Dabsoon-noor, which, though nearly dry, required great care in the crossing, owing to the multitude of quicksands, and general treachery of the soil. Round these lakes are rich pastures for cattle, and especially for camels. Two days' journey beyond them, the travellers halted, still amid rich pastures, and purchased a sheep for a feast from a Lama, who procured them also an accomplished butcher, and brought his family to partake of the dainty meal. The description of these festivities will well repay the reader; but we refrain from entering into the details. On the next day, after a long march, the water had to be drawn from a

deep well, the mouth of which was closed with a large stone. Another long march brought them to the "Hundred Wells;" and on the day after, they met the Prince or King of Alishan, on his way to Pekin to render homage. Three Tartars of this prince's suite passed the night with the missionaries, and explained the relations which subsisted between Alishan, and the court of Pekin. The tributes paid by all these Tartar chiefs are little more than nominal—a camel, or a horse of particular breed, or any special rarity the country may produce of the vegetable or animal kingdom, forms the tribute. One of the chiefs of the Chakar tribes, for instance, pays tribute in pheasants' eggs, which are used to give lustre to the hair of the imperial concubines. But all such tributes must be offered in person by the head of the principality, and the visit is required to be annual, unless in consequence of the distance the period is extended to three years as a great favour. Arrived at Pekin, the tributaries are treated very unceremoniously; they have no separate audiences, but on great days, like that of the New Year, or the Emperor's birthday, they stand round and see the Imperial countenance approach from a distance. Immediately on his appearance they must all fall on their knees, and perform the Koton, never rising till the Emperor has passed. On the other hand, all these petty

chiefs are pensioned, some receiving as much as £2000 per annum, and others less. The stipends are paid in hard silver, at the time of presenting the tribute, but occasionally the tributaries receive plated ingots instead of genuine ones.

The information given by these Tartars of the character of the Alishan country, and of its recent sufferings from drought, decided the missionaries to take a more eastern route through Chinese territory to the Koko-noor valley, crossing again the Hoang-ho, or Yellow river, for the purpose. By this route, they would pass within two days' march of the native country of their servant, Sambda Chamba, which was to him a source of great satisfaction, as he had not seen his family for eighteen years. From due west, the travellers now turned a little to the south, and were directed on their march by a Tartar, whose information confirmed their map: but the water at their next stage was very putrid, and required to be purified by charcoal. They passed here through mountains of schist, which had the appearance of having been heretofore washed by an ocean wave, and presented the most grotesque forms, besides being covered with shells and marine fossils, and being worn into caves evidently by water action.

After crossing this range, the Yellow River was seen at its foot, still a magnificent stream, and was

passed to the little town of Shé Tsui Dze at a reasonable ferry charge. The missionaries now found themselves upon Chinese ground, at the end of two months from the date of their departure from the "Valley of Black Waters." At Shé Tsui Dze, they put up at the hotel of "Justice and Compassion." From the day of their leaving Koko Khoton, they had not seen the interior of a habited house. They were here in comparative comfort, and their host was a communicative person, from whom they obtained much intelligence as to their future route. After two days' rest, the travellers proceeded, and crossed the Great Wall, which surmounted the rising ground beyond the river. It was here a barrier of little strength and rough workmanship. Works of irrigation, and other evidences of Chinese skill and enterprise, were apparent on their line of march; and the contrast of the province of Kan-sou with the arid desert of the Ortoos was remarkable. The first halt in Kan-sou was at Wang-ho-po, where they fell in with a Chinese caravan, bound like themselves to Ning-Hia. On the road to this last city, they found guard-houses at every half league, consisting of square towers, built for the protection of travellers. Arrived at Ning-Hia, a demand was made for passports by three pretended public officers. In the night, their camels made free with some fresh

oziers on a cart within reach of their long necks. A tumult arose in consequence, which ended in a demand upon the missionaries to make good the damage. But a jury of bystanders, a tribunal always available in China, adjudged the reparation to be made by the hotel-keeper, as he had been forewarned. Resistance to anything unjust or unreasonable is always the best course even for strangers.

Ning Hia is a city of the first rank, but it betrayed unmistakeable signs of decadence. A magnificent road carried them to Hia-ho-po, at the hotel of which, named "the Hotel of Five Felicities," a white-buttoned official impudently required them to make way for his master, a mandarin of high rank, with a large suite. But here also the travellers stood on their right, as being the first arrived, and thus shared fairly the accommodation. Two more days carried them to Chong-Wei, a fortified town on the banks of the Yellow River, which contrasted favourably with the misery of Ning-Hia; but to their wonder, the river was here without boats. At Chong-Wei, the Great Wall was again passed, and the travellers found themselves again amid the sandy mountains of Alishan, showing no signs anywhere of vegetation, and moving with every breath of wind. It is from these sands that the Yellow River acquires the tint whence it derives its name. The camels sank in the loose sand

to their knees at every step, and the travellers were compelled to dismount, in order to pursue their laborious journey. These sands seem to be blown up by the western winds of the great Shamo desert, and are piled up in hills on the bank of the river, but are there arrested. An oasis in the middle of these sands, called Chang Lieon-Choui (Ever Flowing Waters), was their resting-place, a delightful spot, where their only complaint was of overcharge for their night's accommodation. From this village, they followed for some distance the high road to Ili, the penal settlement of China in the extreme north-west. The stations on this road are maintained by convicts, whose banishment to Ili is remitted on the condition of their providing water and provisions to public travellers, who else would find none. Along this road they proceeded till they again crossed the Great Wall, and soon after an interior barrier, called that of San yen Tsin, at the resting-place beyond which they were again importuned for passports, as a plea of extortion, but again successfully resisted. They were now in the province of Kan-Sou, a well cultivated wheat and pasture country; but they encountered here a dry tornado of a most formidable character, which, if it had fallen upon them while amid the sands of Alishan, must infallibly have destroyed the whole party. After a day's rest at a respectable farm, they reached Choang Long, or Ping-Fang,

the hotel of which was kept by a Chinese, who at once asked them if they were not Ing-kilee (English). This they denied, and a bystander relieved them from the embarrassing question by saying, "Don't you know that those English have all blue eyes and red hair." "True," said the master of the hotel, "I did not think of that; besides those Ing-kilee never leave the sea, and can't ride, but shake like little fish out of water when they mount on horseback." At this hotel they met a grand Lama, who was a regenerated Boodh of the Khalkas tribe, returning from Tibet. All but our travellers prostrated themselves before him. The saints' curiosity brought him, however, to terms of familiarity with them, notwithstanding this want of respect, and he asked if they were Russians or English (Peling)* from the Ganges and Calcutta. He had travelled between Tibet and the country of the Khalkas more than once, and had there heard of these two nations, but knew nothing of France.

The next stage, after leaving Choang-Long, was Ho Kea-y, which also has another name, Tai-tong-Fou, which is less used. Here they put up at the hotel of "Temperate Climates," where they rested for eight days for the sake of their cattle, whose

* Peling is the Tibetan corruption of the word Feringi, itself a corruption of Frank, the Oriental word for European.

backs were chafed by the long travel. Being near the country of their Chiaour servant, Sambda Chamba, they gave him leave to visit his family, which he found in much distress, and relieved at the expense of his own wardrobe. Leaving Ho-Kiao-y, they crossed a high range called Ping-Kiou, the summit of which they reached only at mid-day, beginning the ascent at sunrise. It snowed as they passed; but in the descent on the other side, they felt inconvenienced from the heat. The pathway was so steep, as to compel the travellers to dismount; and one of their camels twice rolled over, but without suffering much injury. There is coal in this range of hills: much of it was met under conveyance to the river on bullocks, mules, and other animals. On the further side of the Ping-Kiou range they came to a village of stocking-knitters, called Lao-Ya-Pou, five days' journey beyond which is the city of Sining-Fou, situated in a well cultivated country, abounding in tobacco; but the road of the last day was amid rocks, and along the line of a torrent presenting many dangers. The route of the missionaries Grueber and Dorville fell in here with that of our travellers, but they had come across China Proper by Singanfoo. At Sining, strangers are not received into the hotels; but there are separate lodging-houses, called Sie-Kia, where they are boarded as well

as lodged for nothing, the keepers of the houses drawing their profit from the agency of purchases and sales for these strangers, which is proportionately extortionate. The missionaries having contributed nothing in this way, paid for their accommodation. The route after this was rocky, and crossed several torrents, and the Great Wall was passed twice before they reached Tong-Keon-ool, a small but thriving commercial town, in the valley of the Koko-Noor, full of inhabitants of all races, from all quarters, and speaking all languages. The missionaries were here also received at a free lodging-house, kept by a Mussulman. It was now the month of January, and consultation was held upon their further proceedings. To pass the mountains into Tibet at this season was full of hardships, and dangerous in many respects. Yet they could not think of abandoning the object of their long journey, and in summer, the torrents and melting snows would present even greater difficulties. After a stay of six days, while they were yet deliberating, a party of Khalkhas Tartars arrived on their way from Grand Kooren (Oorga) to Lassa, to do homage to a new Geesoo Tamba, declared to be regenerated in a family of that country. There were but eight men of the party, but each had more than one horse, besides forty camels for the baggage of the whole.

The missionaries rejoiced at first in the opportunity of continuing their journey in such company, but upon enquiring they gave up the idea, finding that these Tartars travelled fifty or sixty miles a-day, which, with their own small supply of cattle, was impossible, and they had not the money to purchase more. These Tartars were all nobles of the royal race, and were visited by the young prince of the Koko-Noor Valley, who advised the missionaries to wait for the return, in spring, of the Tibetan mission, then at Pekin, which advice they determined to follow. At eleven leagues distance from Tang-Kiou-ool, in the Sifan pasture district, and not far from the lake of Koko-Noor, is the famous monastery of Koon-boom, containing near four thousand Lamas of all nations. Thither M. Gabet went to seek a Lama preceptor to teach them Tibetan, while they waited for the caravan of the mission then at Pekin. He found and engaged a cousin of their servant Samdba Chamba, a Chiaour Lama, named Sandara, thirty-two years of age, who had lived for ten years in a Lamascrai of Lassa, and who understood most of the languages of China. He was extremely intelligent, and had passed through strange adventures, having at one time been an actor in a travelling Chinese company; but he was cunning, and not the best tempered of preceptors: how-

ever, he was most useful in the menage, and arranged for their removal to the Koon-boom monastery at the beginning of the Chinese year, after about a month's residence at Tang-Kiou-ool. At Koon-boom they obtained lodgings from a generous priest, whose liberality had ruined him, and who could take no rent consistently with the rules of his order. Opposite to them, in the same court, lived a niggardly Chinese Lama, of great reputed wealth. On one side was a medical practitioner, who stuttered to a degree almost destroying his respiration when he attempted to speak, a defect which the Chinese Lama's apprentice took mischievous delight in mimicking. These neighbours and their host they met daily, but very seldom visited or received each other in their apartments. The Lamaserai of Koon-boom, with its 4,000 Lamas, covers the two sides of a mountain ravine, and consists of a number of white mansions built upon either side, with Boodhist temples interspersed. At every step you meet Lamas with yellow mitre-shaped caps, and red cloaks, walking gravely, as though absorbed in thought. At the time of the arrival of the missionaries, they were preparing for the feast of flowers, which was expected this year to be held with unusual magnificence. On the 15th of the first month of the year this festival recurs; but in

lieu of flowers, there are figures of all kinds prepared of frozen butter, which twenty chosen Lamas work upon for weeks before, wetting their hands in cold water to prevent the butter from being melted as they model it. Strangers from all quarters flock to the festival, and the missionaries were most agreeably surprised by the exhibition. The accuracy with which the features and dress of all types of the human race were represented in bas relief, especially the skin-dress of many, exceeded anything they had yet seen in art, and all this was in butter, destroyed and cast into the ravine, to become food for crows, the day after the festival. While examining these displays of art, the Grand Lama of Koon-boom came with much ceremony and state to see the festival; he was a very ordinary-looking person of forty years of age, but his costume struck them as corresponding exactly with that of their own bishops, even to the violet chape.

The Koon-boom monastery is situated in the Amdo district, south of Koko-Noor, and is surrounded by barren red and yellow mountains. It is the birth-place of Tsong-Kaba, of whose miraculous conception and infancy strange legends are current. He was born A.D. 1357, and devoting himself when quite young to a life of privation and abstract study, became, according to these

legends, the pupil of a stranger of the west, described as of great learning, and of peculiar physiognomy, being remarkable for the length of his nose. This stranger, after teaching all his learning to Tsong-Kaba, laid himself down on the top of a mountain and slept the sleep of death, never to awake, being very probably frozen to death. Upon this Tsong-Kaba resolved to travel, and went first south into Yunan, whence he made his way after a time to Lassa. There a supernatural injunction bade him fix his residence. He accordingly preached his new doctrine there, and introduced new prayers and forms of ritual, and gained many converts. His sect were distinguished by yellow capes,—red being the former colour. Gaining ultimately the ascendant, Tsong-Kaba founded the Kaldan monastery, nine miles from Lassa, in A.D. 1409, being then fifty-two years old. This monastery still exists, and numbers more than 8,000 Lamas. In 1419, the reforming saint quitted this world for the celestial. Tsong-Kaba, besides reforming the ritual, revised and published a new version of the doctrinal scriptures of Sakhya-Mooni, the great founder of the religion, under the name of the "graduated road of perfection." The missionaries saw reason, in the conformity of ritual, as well as of costume, especially in this sect of Lamas, for believing that

the preceptor of Tsong-Kaba must have been a stray member of the Romish Church, who found his way into these regions a century after Rubruquis and Marco Polo. His doctrine and ritual are now the prevailing forms of worship in all Tibet, Mongolia and Tartary, and have been adopted in many Chinese monasteries. That of Koon-boom was built some time after his decease at his birth-place, and there is a miraculous tree shown, which is said to have grown on the spot where his hair was shorn on his becoming a Lama, on every leaf of which tree there is a letter of the Tibetan alphabet distinctly marked. The missionaries saw the tree. It was old, with a stem that three men could scarcely circle in the girth, but was not more than eight feet high; the Tibetan letters were well formed, and seemed engrained in the leaf as it grew. They testify to the miracle, but could not at all account for it. We presume the letters to be written upon the young leaves with some substance that affects their growth and texture, and so remains indelible. The tree, they say, is of a species that no one has seen elsewhere. The Emperor Kang-hi, when he made a pilgrimage to Koon-boom, covered the tree with a silver dome, and gave an endowment for the perpetual support of three hundred and fifty Lamas, which the monastery still enjoys. The

missionaries speak highly of its discipline and management, and testify to its well-merited celebrity as an university for the instruction of Lamas. There are four great classes, with separate professors for each. First and highest, the faculty of mystical doctrines, and of the life of contemplation which leads to sanctification; Second, the faculty of the liturgy, including the study of all religious ceremonies; Third, the faculty of medicine, including botany and pharmacy; Fourth, the faculty of prayer, which is obligatory on all, and consequently is the best filled. There are thirteen classes in this branch of study only, the books of prayer being most numerous, and very voluminous, and the students being graduated according to their progress in these books. No one is advanced for age or length of study; very young persons, even boys, take often the very highest places in the hierarchy. The place is given after strict examination, but a handsome present to the institution, or to the examiners, mitigates much of its severity. The lectures are given at all seasons in the open air, and the lessons having been recited, one of the pupils is called upon generally to maintain a thesis upon any subject. He must answer all opponents, and if victorious, is carried round the school-yard on the shoulders of the vanquished. The whole disputation is conducted in

the Tibetan language, no other being taught or admitted in the schools. Discipline and attention is strictly enforced by censors, who carry iron rods with which they punish summarily any delinquents. The proctors and their bull-dogs are distinguished by a grey dress and black mitre. They have great power in the streets of the town, as well as in the courts of the monastery, and there are Lama judges for more serious offences. For any petty theft, the culprit is marked on the forehead and cheek by a hot iron, and expelled.

Our two missionaries, with the aid of their preceptor "Sandara," prepared a Tibetan abstract of the Scriptures, and a summary of the principal doctrines of their own faith. The report of their employment spread in the monastery, and excited many anxious enquiries; so much so, that they began to hope for extensive success in winning converts to their faith; but their preceptor was a confirmed sceptic. The stuttering student of medicine was much better disposed, though full of superstitions. He proposed to them one day, to assist in a charitable ceremony for the benefit of lost and forlorn travellers. It consisted of the very simple process of stamping the figure of a horse, caparisoned, on little pieces of light paper, and giving them to the strong winds on a mountain top, with certain prayers. The young student

had the most perfect faith that many a poor wanderer would be relieved by this charitable sending of horses in all quarters.

The missionaries had resided three months at Koon-boom, when they received a civil message that the time had expired when they could live as stranger guests, dressing and comporting themselves as they pleased. If they remained longer, they must wear the mitre and costume of the monastery, and matriculate. They objected on the score of religious scruples, and were accordingly advised to remove to a less strict monastery at Chogortan, especially devoted to medical students. This advice they readily followed, and had no reason to repent the change of their residence. Before taking leave of Koon-boom, M. Huc devotes a chapter to the precepts of Boodh, and to the introduction of this religion into China. What he cites, and the facts he mentions, are curious and highly interesting; but through the late Mr. Ksoma de Koros, and Mr. Turnour of Ceylon, we have much more full details on the subject of this religion, derived directly from Tibetan and Pali sources.

The Chinese give the year, B.C. 1029, as the date of the birth of Sakhya-Muni, or Boodh, and the year, B.C. 951, for that of his death; but they admit that the religion was not introduced

into China until 1,000 years later. They state the book of the Forty-two Precepts, from which the missionaries give extracts, to have been translated into the language of China, in the year A.D. 68. A comparison of many epochs has established in India the date, B.C. 628, for the year of the birth of Boodh; and B.C. 543, for that of his decease. We ask not for him greater antiquity than this, but shall reserve the examination of this question, and especially the discussion of the claim of the Boodhist sacred books to greater antiquity than our own, until we have carried our missionaries to their journey's end.

The climate in the elevated region of the Koko-noor, wherein the missionaries made this long sojourn, is so severe, that snow falls nearly throughout the year, though the latitude is only 36° north. In July, however, there is a sudden change, and vegetation proceeds as if the earth were in a state of fermentation. The mountains are suddenly covered with verdure, and flowers show their bright colours on all sides. At this season the camels of our travellers lost their long hair, and were for some days quite uncomfortable, but it grew fast again, and the coat thus shed proved a valuable acquisition, being converted into cords for fastening the loads. Chogortan is the Richmond, or the Brighton, to which the Lamas of

Koonboom resort for recreation in summer; and here especially came, at this season, the whole faculty of medicine, to collect simples for their pharmacy. In the plains round about were rich pastures, from which the monastery was supplied with argols for winter fuel. The missionaries have a special dissertation in this place, upon the merit of the argol of different animals; that of goats and sheep stands in the first class; camels in the second; kine of all kinds in the third; horses, and animals of that genus, in the last, because the dung of these animals burns too quick, and gives a disagreeable smoke.

The Chogortan Valley, in consequence of its favoured pasture-grounds, is subject to the attacks of brigands, not plundering as individuals, but in organized bodies and tribes. The Lamas of Koonboom take to arms immediately on hearing of the approach of these banditti, but not with any effective organization, so that the valley is sometimes swept before any succour can arrive; and the missionaries were witness to the confusion resulting from an incursion of this kind during their stay.

It was the end of September, 1845, before the Tibetan mission made its appearance in the valley of the Koko-noor, on its return to Lassa from Pekin. Immediately, on hearing of its approach,

our travellers made their preparations so as to be ready to accompany the caravan. The supplies they laid in were, three bricks of tea, two sheep's stomachs of butter, two sacks of flour, and eight sacks of Tsamba, that is, of roasted barley meal, to be mixed with the tea, which is the universal food of Tibetans, without being satisfied with which, there is no passing by this route into Tibet. The above supplies were for the two missionaries, with two servants, four camels, two horses and a mule, a condition of baggage and commissariat for such an expedition, that would satisfy even Sir Charles Napier. A good supply of garlick, a specific recommended by the people of the country to prevent ill consequences from bad atmosphere and nauseous vapours, was the only further article provided. For the conveyance of these extra supplies a horse and camel were added to the original establishment with which the missionaries had reached Koonboom, and a young Lama was hired as helpmate to Sambda Chamba, in tending the cattle.

With this preparation, the missionaries made a march of four days to meet the Tibetan mission on the banks of the Koko-noor lake, or rather inland sea. They passed on their way to the lake the Lameserai of Tansan, having about 200 Lamas, and found magnificent pastures on the plains

near the lake. These travellers are the first Europeans from whom we have any trustworthy notice of this lake from personal examination. They describe it as about one hundred leagues in circumference, and as salt as the ocean. They state it also to be subject to some kind of tide, but this we think must be a mistake. Towards the south end of the lake there is a rocky island where a few Lamas have established a temple with some huts for residences. There is no communication with them except in winter over the ice, for on the whole lake there is not a single boat. The Lamas, however, are liberally supplied in that season by the shepherds. There are twenty-nine banners of subject princes who divide the pasture-plains of Koko-noor amongst them, paying tribute to China. The plundering tribes are Eastern Tibetans, of the Sifan race, who live in the Bayen Kharat mountains, near the sources of the Yellow River. They are called Kolo, and are Boodhists, but have added to their mythology a special God of plunder.

The missionaries remained near a month on the banks of the Koko-noor, waiting for the Tibetan envoy's caravan from Pekin. It arrived towards the end of October. It used to be the custom for the Tibetan mission to travel yearly to Pekin, but in 1840 the caravan was attacked by the Kolo

robbers, whom they beat off, but found next day that the Chanak-Kampo, or Lama ambassador, had disappeared in the night attack, whether slain or not, was never thoroughly ascertained. Again, in 1841, a second officer of the same rank received a severe wound, of which he died shortly after. In consequence of these casualties, the Emperor made the mission triennial, instead of annual, and it was the return of that of 1844 that formed the present caravan. It consisted, by our traveller's estimate, of 15,000 yaks, 1,200 horses, and as many camels, and about 2,000 human beings of whom all the mounted were well armed. The Chanak-Kampo rode in a litter carried by two mules; the caravan had an escort of 300 Chinese soldiers, from the province of Kansou, and 200 mounted Tartars, who were to conduct it to the frontier of Tibet, but no further. The caravan generally started three hours before sunrise, so as to come to the new ground by noon, and so afford the cattle grazing time; two guns gave the signal for preparation and departure, and the march was a general move without much order. After a journey of six days, the Pouhain-Gol, a river that falls into the Koko-noor, had to be crossed; it ran in twelve channels, not very deep, but the frozen edges made the passage difficult and disagreeable.

Our travellers made acquaintance, in this

journey, with three Lamas, who had travelled over the whole of Mongolia, to collect subscriptions for the erection of a grand temple near Lassa. They had been eminently successful, and were bringing back means sufficient for their grand design; but at Koon-boom were overtaken by an order from Pekin, and the principal emissary was sent on to Lassa for trial, on the charge of fraud and forgery, and his treasure was placed at the disposal of the Dala Lama to abide the result. Five days' march beyond the Poohain-gol, the caravan came to a small river, on the other side of which was a deserted Lamaserai, which had been beseiged and ravaged by the terrible Kolo plunderers. Here the Chinese escort left them. On the 15th November, they entered the Tsaidam district, occupied by Mongols, and crossed the river of that name. The soil is dry and rocky, and produces borax, which is collected in pits, where it crystallizes freely. On the further side of this valley was the dreaded Boorhan-boota Mountain. On the eastern and northern side of this range the air is so impregnated with carbonic-acid gas, that unless there is a wind to sweep it off, animals can scarcely pass without suffocation. It is like the valley of the Upas, in Java, which is fatal from a similar cause. Our travellers passing at a time of calm, experienced severely the effects of the cor-

rupted atmosphere. But this difficulty was trivial in comparison with the passage of the Chuga mountains some days after. The ascent from the north-east was easy, but the summit was no sooner reached than a wind met them in the face, in the midst of deep snow, that made the descent dangerous in the highest degree. They could not venture to face this wind, and sat with their faces to the horses tails. Monsieur Gabet reached the bottom with his nose and ears frozen, and suffered so severely in other respects, that his recovery was at one time despaired of. At the halting-place they had to scrape away the snow in search of argol fuel, to make a miserable fire, the heat of which was insufficient to boil their tea.

The miseries of a Tibetan journey had now fairly commenced; all the travellers marched in mournful silence amid snows that proved every day fatal to many of the cattle, and the road was strewed with the bones of men as well as of animals, to remind them of the perils by which they were surrounded. Monsieur Gabet fell sick, to a degree that made him quite helpless, in consequence of his sufferings in the passage of the Chuga; yet there were still two months of journey before them to Lassa, and no possibility of halt, no comforts, no medicines. In the beginning of December, they reached the famous Bayen Kharat chain of

mountains, which stretches, from south-east to north-west, between the Hoang-Ho and Kin-Cha-Kiang rivers. They were now close to the sources of the former, which lay two day's journey to the East, but could not be visited. Here they held council how best to effect the passage of the dividing range. It lay before them, covered with deep fresh snow. The day was calm, but much of it had passed when they reached the foot of the ridge. On the other hand, there was a probability of a wind arising by the morrow, which would be fatal in the then condition of the snow. The caravan was divided in opinion; but our travellers were of the party for proceeding, and they scrambled over the fresh snow without accident. Luckily, the next day also was fine, and those who had stopped came over likewise, without any one being lost in an avalanche or a snow-wreath, which was looked upon as extreme good fortune. They rested on the side of a frozen lake, depending on the argols of previous caravans for fuel; and moved, next day, to the bank of the Mouroui-Oossoo, the name here given to the river called below the Kin-Cha-Kiang, and in the plains of China, the mighty Yang-Tse-Kiang, or Blue River. They passed it over ice, and witnessed a strange spectacle in the passage. A string of more than fifty wild yaks had been frozen up at the very moment of swimming across, and remained there fixed in death, their eyes having been pecked out

by crows and eagles. Wild yaks and wild asses are common in the most elevated regions of Tibet, and are seen wandering in herds, seeking fresh pastures.

The caravan here separated, the camels preceding, because capable of making longer marches, and of moving more rapidly than the loaded yaks. By a gradual further ascent, our travellers now reached, at last, the dividing land between the waters of China and Tibet, the highest elevated region, perhaps, in the whole world. It was mid-winter, and for fifteen days the wind blew over the plain with murderous severity. During the whole of this time the cold was so intense, that though they wore flannel shirts, and over that a coat of fox-skin, and over that a lamb-skin jacket or spencer, and a large cloak of sheep-skin over all, and carried their Tsamba paste for refreshment on the day's journey next to their skin, yet they never took it out to eat during the march in this elevated region, without finding it frozen. It is wonderful that the human frame should endure this consecutively for days together. The cattle required to be enveloped in felt wrappers, but were nevertheless decimated in the terrible march. And here we must be permitted to complain of our travellers for starting on such a journey without even a compass, a barometer, or a thermometer. A solar microscope it seems they had with them, but a

compass to give the bearings of remarkable peaks, and a thermometer to show the degree of cold, and the boiling point of water, would have given scientific results of the highest possible interest and value. Lieutenant Strachey, the officer of the Indian government, who wintered at Ladâq, and penetrated in the spring and summer of 1848, to the sources of the Shayek, and to the Pangong Salt Lake, in order to determine the boundary of the Chinese territory towards the Indus, crossed several passes of 18,000 and 19,000 feet of well ascertained height; and we expect shortly from the brother of this officer some curious scientific particulars, the result of a careful survey and examination of a considerable area of territory at the sources of the Sutlej. These French missionaries give us no means of comparing observations made at the sources of the great rivers of China, with those of these western explorers, and we may wait long for another journey into the regions crossed by the perilous route we are here tracing.

More than forty men of the caravan were left on the road frozen during the fifteen days of painful march over this table-land, and no one could stop to relieve, or even to bury, those overtaken by the frost. M. Gabet's illness and sufferings increased to such a degree at this period of the journey, that he could neither ride nor walk; he was conse-

quently sewed up in his cloaks and blankets, and so carried, like a bale of goods, on a camel. But he recovered when the extreme cold was somewhat mitigated, and the cutting wind had ceased. In the midst of this march, the travellers fell in with a party of Kolo brigands, who, however, showed great respect for the Lamas of the west, and declared that they had no wish to plunder what the caravan was carrying back to the Delai Lama; but would never suffer the wealth of Tibet to be carried to Pekin, in order to be laid at the feet of a Chinese emperor. Soon after this rencontre, the caravan approached the Tant-La* pass, the summit of which they reached, after six days of continual further ascent. At the top was another table-land, along which they travelled for twelve days; but the wind had ceased to blow, and the sun was now radiant and reviving, and M. Gabet recovered wonderfully under its influence. After thus crossing this high dividing ridge of Tartary, the descent was from mountain to mountain, in steps each day of reduced elevation. In the valleys, hot springs were very frequent. After some days of rough travel, the missionaries reached a plain of good pasture, where

* Throughout Tibet, as far west as Ladaq, a mountainous pass is called La. This is the first on the road from Pekin to Lassa, that bears this name. It is an evidence of the commencement of the use of the Tibetan language as the vernacular.

they gave their worn-out cattle a halt of two days, during which shepherds brought them fresh meat, a luxury they purchased with such articles of Pekin manufacture as they could spare; but just as they were on the point of sitting down to a luxurious meal of roasted mutton, so procured, the cry of fire! fire! arose, and they found that some injudicious members of the caravan had ignited the grass to windward, and the flames were coming down fast upon their encampment. The tents were saved with extreme difficulty, but the long-haired camels would not move out of the way of the flames, and one of them was so dreadfully burnt as to be rendered quite unserviceable. Following down a valley, the travellers came now to the first Tibetan village, called Na-Pchu, or Khara-ossoo, both meaning, one in Tibetan, and the other in Mongolian, Black Waters. The village is inhabited by Tartar shepherds. The missionaries sold here their three serviceable camels for fifteen ounces of silver, and gave the poor burnt one into the bargain. With this money they purchased six yaks, to convey their baggage to Lassa, and the assistant camel-driver, who had proved a great rogue, was discharged. The thieves of Napchu are described as expert and most audacious.

There were yet fifteen days of march from this

village to Lassa. Our missionaries travelled the remainder of their journey in company with some Mongols of Kharchin, who along with a regenerated Boodh were on pilgrimage to the holy city. The Chaberon, so these sainted hierarchs are called, was a young man of eighteen, and was proceeding to graduate and study in one of the Lamaserais of Lassa. A prince and several nobles of Kharchin accompanied him, and he was watched, rather than attended, by two aids-de-camps, who permitted him no recreation, but compelled him always to sit in state, and act and talk the regenerated Boodh—a miserable state of existence! He was, however, allowed to visit and converse with our Lamas of the West, and is described as an intelligent well-disposed youth, who enjoyed much the privilege of holding rational converse.

The route between Na-Pchu and Lassa, is described as rocky, fatiguing and difficult, and sometimes even highly dangerous, but the caravan was approaching civilization, and everything seemed now to smile. The passage of the Koiran range of mountains presented most difficulty. On the fifteenth day from Na-Pchu, they reached Pampoo, called on maps Panctou, a valley interspersed with farm-houses, on the banks of a considerable river. Here they had again to change their carriage cattle, and provide asses in place of their yaks.

The cold had sadly disfigured their bearded countenances; but they did their best, with their limited wardrobe and means, to make a respectable appearance on their arrival at Lassa. Asses having been provided, after some delay, in sufficient abundance for the whole party, the missionaries, with their Mongol associates, scaled the high mountain range, which still lay between them and Lassa, called the Boodha-La, and so reached the city at last on the 29th January, 1846, eighteen months after their start from the Valley of Black Waters in Mongolia.

The houses of Lassa are described as large, and are fresh whitewashed and painted every year, so as to present a gay appearance, but within they are filthy in the extreme, cleanliness being no characteristic of a Tibetan or Tartar. They found a lodging at Lassa, in a house of entertainment, where there were fifty other lodgers, and hired an upper room, to which they were compelled to mount by a ladder of twenty-six steps. It had for chimney a hole in the roof—not a comfortable substitute in the depth of winter; but even this was preferable to retaining the smoke of the argol fuel in the room they inhabited, which those below were compelled to submit to. The city of Lassa has no wall, but is surrounded by garden suburbs. The streets are broad, well laid out, and clean enough, but the suburbs are filthy in

the extreme. There is one quarter, however, the houses of which are described as most picturesque, the walls being built of the horns of cattle and sheep, intermixed with infinity of designs, and cemented together with mortar between. We cite this description of Lassa, because the city has never, that we know, been yet described by any European traveller. Mr. Manning, who went there from Calcutta, in 1811, intending to penetrate into China by that route, was seized and sent back, and saw very little of the place; and his Chinese companion, being handed over to Chinese courts of justice, was never afterwards heard of. Mr. Manning went then by sea to Canton, and died there, without giving to the world any result of his travels and researches.

The French missionaries were assured by Tibetans that Mr. Moorcroft had also been at Lassa, and a Kashmerian merchant introduced to them a Moosulman named Nishân, who declared himself to have been Mr. Moorcroft's servant, and to have accompanied him in tours of exploration made in different directions, in quality of a Mahommedan cattle merchant, speaking Persian. We know that Moorcroft died of fever caught in Koondooz; this person must, therefore, have been one of his companions, who assumed his name. The traveller, whoever he was, is said to have been

murdered by robbers in the Gnari province, near the sources of the Indus. No intelligence corresponding with these particulars has ever reached any British officer; and on the other hand, there has been much exploration lately in the direction of Gnari, and the Chinese frontier in that quarter has been laid down by Lieutenant Strachey, before alluded to; so that such an event, if it were really true, could scarcely have escaped them. We must admit, however, that the motives for concealment were of the strongest on the part of the Chinese frontier officers.

The palace of the Delai Lama at Lassa, called the Lassa Morou, is built on an isolated rocky hill, at a short distance to the north of the city. It is of stone, and of large dimensions, with a high gilt dome, exhibiting, say our travellers, much architectural beauty. We presume the style and character of the edifice not to be very different from those described, and of which we have drawings, in Turner's Embassy to Tibet. Round the palace are a multitude of Lamas' edifices of all sizes. The Delai Lama is the Pope of Tibet; but as he is supposed to be always in the state of abstract meditation for the benefit of mankind, his temporal authority is exercised through a deputy, called the Nom-Khan, who is also a sanctified Lama, enjoying the relative posi-

tion towards the hierarch of a Romish cardinal. About two hundred years ago, the women of Tibet, being much given to dress and libertinage, corrupted the Lamas to a degree to bring their holy order into bad repute. The then Nom-Khan accordingly issued an edict, that the women should never appear in public without first smearing their faces with a black disfiguring paste. Strange to say, this order was obeyed, and the practise is still observed, but without much benefit to morals. Father Grueber notices this habit of smearing the face to have prevailed in his time, which was one hundred and eighty years before the visit of our travellers. The women are described as active, industrious, and managing persons, like those of France, and not at all likely to be content with the place assigned to women in the social system of India and of Western Asia, nor do they submit to seraglio discipline.

The position of the Chinese at Lassa is peculiar. In the time of Kanghi, the influence of the name and authority of the Delai Lama was of such importance in his relations with Mongolia, that this emperor established envoys to pay court to the theocrat, and exalt his pretensions to supreme Papal authority. These envoys were called Kin-chai, and there were two in Tibet. When the Nipalese invaded that country and plundered Teeshoo-Loom-

boo, recourse was had to China for military aid, and the Chinese army, after defeating that of Nipal at Tingri, compelled the court of Katmandhoo to sue for peace, and send a mission of tribute to Pekin every third year, as we have before related. Consequently, upon this, the Chinese Kinchais at Lassa came to exercise as much authority there as a British resident does at the court of a protected state in India. In the thirty-fifth year of Kien-Long (A.D. 1770), which was before this war with Nipal, and before the mission of Captain Turner, the two envoys (Kinchais) at Lassa, seized and beheaded a Nom-Khan during a visit of ceremony. An *emeute* was the consequence, which ended in the massacre of every Chinese in Tibet. A long war, and the invasion of Tibet by a Chinese army followed. The result was to re-establish the Chinese Kinchais at Lassa, with equal, if not superior, influence to that they before enjoyed, and this was confirmed and much augmented by the events of the war with Nipal. But there are very few Chinese troops in Tibet to support the influence and authority the Kinchais exercise. There is, indeed, a line of guard-houses all the way between Lassa and Yunan, for the purpose of keeping up the communication, and another line of guard-houses, with small garrisons, is established along the Bootan and British frontiers.

At Lassa, however, the head-quarters of all these posts, there are only a few hundred troops. These receive their pay from China, and are relieved every third year.

The principal Chinese envoy at the time of the arrival of our missionaries was, as we before said, the well-known Ki-Shen, the great councillor of state, who had been sent to negociate with the British admiral and with Captain Elliot at the commencement of the war with China in 1840. The result of his negotiations was, it will be recollected, a treaty or convention, containing a stipulation for the cession in full sovereignty to the British Queen of the island of Hong Kong. This was a *sine qua non* of Lord Palmerston's instructions, and was agreed to most unwillingly by Ki-Shen. When the treaty was sent to Pekin for ratification, this article was looked upon there as disgraceful, and the negotiator was recalled and sentenced to confiscation, and to exile to Ili; his great credit at court and known talents alone saved his head. The issue of the war which followed having proved his superior wisdom, and the affairs of Tibet requiring a man of vigour and ability, Ki-Shen was partially restored to rank, and appointed to the mission there. The case forms a curious passage in that country's history.

The Nom-Khan of Lassa is himself a "Cha-

beron," or regenerated Boodh, selected for the office of civil administrator by the Delai Lama. The Nom-Khan whom Ki-Shen found there had been nominated long before, and in his time three successive Delai Lamas had died very soon after reaching the age of majority. This occasioned great scandal, and it was openly said that all three events were the work of the Nom-Khan. The first Delai Lama had died of strangulation, the second was killed by the fall of the roof of his bed-chamber, and the third was poisoned at a meal, along with several of his familiars. Add to this, the chief Lama of the Kaldan monastery, close to Lassa, had died suddenly in the same way.

The Nom-Khan was a Sifan noble of Yang-Tou-See, consequently a subject of China. He was rich, and by his liberality had obtained a large following, the Lamas of the Sera monastery especially being much devoted to him. There are under the Nom-Khan four state officers, called Kalons. These combining, made a secret representation to the court of Pekin of the crimes and cruelties of the Nom-Khan; and it was in consequence of their representation that Ki-Shen was ordered from Ili to investigate and redress these evils, and was vested with extraordinary powers for the purpose. Upon his arrival in

Tibet, he paid court to the Bundshan-Rembouchi,* the great Lama of Teshoo Loomboo, and to the four Kalons or ministers of the Nom-Khan at Lassa. With their help he obtained evidence to prove the charges of murder against the Nom-Khan, who was accordingly brought to trial, and on being confronted with the witnesses, confessed his crimes, and signed the record which contained the evidence of his guilt, together with his accomplices' confessions. It was countersigned by all the high officers of Tibet, including the Teeshoo Lama, and the case was so sent to Pekin for adjudication. Three months afterwards, the imperial mandate arrived, sentencing the Nom-Khan to exile on the banks of the Sagalien in Manchoo Tartary. The sentence was immediately placarded at Lassa, and the Nom-Khan was placed in confinement. The Lamas of the Sera monastery, however, to the number of 15,000, rose in insurrection, and gaining the ascendancy at Lassa, released the Nom-Khan, and wished to carry him back to his palace in triumph. But he refused, saying he must make the journey to Pekin, in order to explain the case, and enlighten the em-

* Turner calls this officer the Punjin-Rembochay. M. Huc says he claims equality with the Delai Lama. The place we call Teeshoo Lomboo, after Captain Turner, M. Huc calls Jachi Loomboo, and translates, "Mountain of oracles."

peror, for submission was his duty. The Lamas of Sera were disconcerted by this refusal, and returned at night to their convent. In the meantime, Ki-Shen, who had escaped the first violence of the insurgents, concerted measures with the Kalons, and brought next morning an armed force into the plain between the monastery and Lassa, and so reduced the rebellious Lamas to submission. The Nom-Khan was dispatched a few days after in a palanquin, by the route of Se Chouen, to the place of his exile. The accomplices, however, were left to the Kalon magistrates of Lassa, and were not severely dealt with.

The selection of a new Nom-Khan fell on the Chabron, or regenerated Boodh-Lama of Ranchan, a youth of only eighteen years of age. The first Kalon was accordingly named regent, and it was with him and Ki-Shen that the missionaries had to deal in January and February 1846. What passed is curious, and deserves full mention.

The missionaries reported themselves to the authorities at Lassa, as Lamas of the west come to enquire after, and to preach the truth. They were immediately visited by an inquisitive Chinese who came to enquire what they had to sell. "Nothing," they said, "but their old saddles." "Exactly what I want," said he; and in bargaining, asked multitudinous questions calculated to

elicit all particulars regarding the strange visitors to the holy city.

Four similar visits of inquiry for merchandize did the missionaries receive on the same day. It was evident that these were all spies. At the dinner hour they were summoned to the presence of the Kalon, regent, along with their servant, Sambda-Chamba. On arriving at the palace, this functionary surveyed them curiously for some time without saying a word, whereupon they said to one another in French: "He seems of good disposition, we shall fare well." Though said in a whisper, they were immediately called upon to repeat what they had said; which they did aloud in French. An appeal was then made to all present, to know if any one understood the language. The answer being in the negative, they were called upon themselves to translate, which they did faithfully into Tibetan. The regent was pleased with the compliment, and made a long speech to explain how it was his duty to be well disposed. He then asked whence they came; they said "From the West." "From Calcutta?" he asked; they replied, "No; from France." "You are assuredly Pelings?" (English) said the regent. "No; we are French." "Can you write?" said he. They said "Yes;" whereupon ink and paper were provided, and they were told to write something in their own language. They wrote

"Que sert a l'homme de conquerir le monde entier, s'il vient a perdre son ame." They were made to write the translation of this in Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese, which they did, exciting the admiration of the court at their learning and profound doctrine. In the midst of this, Ki-Shen came to the palace, and the examination was renewed before him in a different spirit. They saluted him in the French form, without falling on their knees, merely taking off their caps and bowing low. "'Tis well," he said, "you follow the customs of your country; they tell me you speak correctly the language of Pekin. Let us converse in that." The missionaries said their language would be found faulty by such a judge, but his intelligence would penetrate the meaning. "Pure Pekin!" he exclaimed, "you French must have great facility in the acquisition of languages." "Yes, we are French." "I knew some Frenchmen in old days in Pekin," he said. "You might also have seen some at Canton," they replied; but the recollection was not agreeable to their questioner, and he frowned. "You are Christians," he said. "Yes." "I knew it! and you are here to propagate and spread your religious opinions." "It is our only object." "What countries have you passed through?" They named China, Mongolia and Tibet. "Who did you live with in China?" They refused to answer this

question, even though threatened; but told freely where they had learned the languages they knew. "And who are you?" he said, turning sharply to Sambda-Chamba. "A native of Ki-tou see." "Where is that?" "In the district of San-Chouen, in the Kansou province." "Ah! subject of the central nation! down on your knees, before your Emperor's representative. On your knees!" he repeated, and was instantly obeyed. "As a subject of China, I am your judge; say, where you met these foreigners?" Sambda-Chamba replied frankly, not denying that he was himself a convert to the Christian faith; which he could not believe to be proscribed, because it enjoined him only to do good, and to shun evil. "True," said the Commissioner, "but what induced you to enter the service of these foreigners?" He denied that he knew them to be foreigners, or otherwise than as good men. "What wages do they give?" He said, "None, but his board and lodging; he was with them for the sake of his soul, regarding them as his spiritual teachers." "Are you married?" "No! I was a Lama, before joining them." The next question drew a blush from Sambda-Chamba; he did not answer it. And the missionaries protested against such imputations, declaring the thought or mention of such things to be equally against their religion and their morals. At this Ki-Shen felt reproved, and broke up the examination, saying it

was late, and he should require to see them again next day. From this examination they were carried again to the regent, who promised his support, gave them supper, and questioned them several times over on the subject of maps, and notes of their route. They told him candidly that they had a printed map of China with them, by which they had been guided on their journey. The regent heard this with some anxiety, fearing it would give them trouble; the great dread of the Chinese being, exploration by Europeans to ascertain the geography and resources of their country. Rooms were prepared for the missionaries this night in the palace, where they were now, in fact, prisoners. They were carefully waited upon, and found good beds provided; they passed the night, however, in great anxiety as to their future fate, and found a resource and comfort in prayer. Early the next morning they were visited by the chief Kashmerian merchant, who came to condole with them, and to tell them to prepare next day for a close examination of their baggage. This was the work of the Chinese Kinchai, he said, against the wishes of the regent, but they must submit. All these precautions, he further told them, were the consequences of Moorcroft's explorations; amongst whose effects, after he was murdered in Gnari, the Chinese had found many maps and notes illustra-

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tive of the geography and resources of the entire country.

Early next morning, the Tibetan regent made the first examination of their baggage with all forms, prior to sealing it up. A crucifix was the first thing that engaged his attention, and he laughed heartily when the missionaries said it was with that that they had come to make the conquest of Tibet. A careful list was made of everything to the most minute article, and the whole baggage was then carried under seal to the court-house, where Ki-Shen was waiting. "Have you only these two trunks of baggage," he asked. "Nothing else," said they; "you may open them and see what they contain." "Are they mine," said he, "that I should open them, and expose myself to your reproaches, if anything should be found wanting? open them yourselves." Everything was then laid out, and examined with the utmost curiosity by all present. Amongst the articles were some books and lithographic drawings, which excited much admiration. Ke-Shin took upon himself to explain the great progress the French had made in the arts, and he asked if the missionaries had no watches, telescopes, or magic lanterns. They pointed to a solar microscope, the only instrument of that kind which they had with them, and put it together, nobody but Ki-Shen himself having the

slightest idea of its use. He asked them to exhibit it; but they put it up again immediately, saying, "We are here under examination and trial, not to make exhibitions." He then asked for the maps, which were produced, being one of the world, on Mercator's projection, and another of China, both printed in France.

The regent gave them a look which seemed to say, "You are ruined, and have signed your death warrants;" but the missionaries appealed to Ki-Shen's intelligence and knowledge of things to distinguish printed from manuscript maps, and to satisfy himself that these were not of their own drawing. He at once recognised them as printed maps, and pointed out the distinguishing marks to the regent, who seemed much relieved, though he could not understand the difference.

At the request of both these officers, the missionaries pointed out on the map of the world, the site of all the different countries. Calcutta was a first object of enquiry, and when it was indicated, they remarked how near it was to Lassa. "Never mind," the regent added, "the Himalaya lies between us and the English." Kishen was quite familiar with every article used in the ritual of the Catholic church, having been governor of the Picheli province when the Christians were persecuted and expelled. These, therefore, created in him no suspicion, and the examination ended in a

decision that the missionaries were plain men, without deceit, and should be left at liberty. The regent was delighted at this issue of the examination, and the head of the Kashmeer merchants provided a banquet to greet them on their return home; and further purchased, on the regent's account, their two white horses for two ingots of silver, each of ten ounces, a liberal price, exceeding their value in the then condition of the cattle. One of the ingots they gave to Sambda Chamba, as a compliment on his discharge, which was to him a fortune, not unmerited by his services.

The next day, the missionaries became the regent's guests, and improved their acquaintance with him to terms of familiarity. At the house he assigned to them, they prepared an oratory with a crucifix, and other attributes of religion, and commenced their religious functions in a manner to excite curiosity, and to give them the hope of making converts. They began thus to flatter themselves with the promise of great success in their mission, and amongst others, reckoned even upon the probability of making some impression on the regent himself. He was a man of great experience of the world, as well as of high literary reputation in Tibet, and he delighted in discussing doctrinal questions with the missionaries, acknowledging fully the paramount necessity of enquiry, for the purpose of ascertaining where truth lay, for the

good of the soul in perpetuity. He acknowledged the truths and moral precepts of Christianity, claiming for pure Boodhism perfect correspondence on these points, and alleging the errors pointed out by the missionaries to have been the result of erroneous teachings of ignorant or half-informed Lamas. The two points of disagreement were the creation of the world, the Mosaic account of which the regent could not accept, and the doctrine of transmigration, which was to the missionaries equally irrational. In discussing these differences, the regent was more than a match for the missionaries, while they conversed in Tibetan, and they were compelled to call in the Cashmerian chief merchant to interpret the arguments they wished to enforce. The regent seeing this, and promising to renew the discussion when they were more familiar with the language, gave them his nephew for preceptor, to perfect them in Tibetan; and in the meantime, confined himself ordinarily to conversing about Europe, its arts and habits, concerning which he showed great curiosity, especially after having witnessed with great wonder an exhibition of the solar microscope. He mastered completely the Roman alphabet, from a copy of it made for him by the missionaries, and was particularly interested in descriptions of steamboats, railroads, balloons, and daguerreotypes.

With Ki-Shen also the missionaries had very friendly relations. He questioned them frequently about England and Queen Victoria. His idea of Prince Albert was singular; he conceived that, because the British constitution gave him not the kingly power, he must be to the queen, what queens of China are to emperors and other royal personages of the east, and no more. He asked after Lord Palmerston and Captain Elliot, and was not surprised to hear that the latter had been recalled at the same time that he was himself disgraced. "He was a good man but irresolute," said Kishen; "was he put to death or exiled?" "Neither one nor the other; these things are not managed so summarily in Europe." "I know," said he, "your mandarins fare better than we do. Our emperor cannot know everything; yet it is he only who judges, and none dare speak in his presence. If he says, this is white, we say, truly so, it is white; if soon after, he points to the same thing, and says it is black, we fall on our faces and say, yes, it is black. But if one, more bold, ventures to suggest that the same thing cannot well be both black and white, the emperor will say, 'That is true;' but the offerer of such a suggestion will probably lose his head. Ah! we have no assembly of chiefs as you have, to control the actions of our emperor."

Ki-Shen told them freely how the affair with the

English had been treated in 1839-40. The Emperor called his eight Choung-Tangs to council, and stated the case. He said, "These western mariners are very rebellious and refractory; they must be chastised as an example to all others." Having thus stated his own opinion, he asked the advice of his council. The four Manchoo councillors fell on their faces, and said, "Yes, yes, 'tis the sovereign's wish and order." The Chinese Choung-Tangs then prostrated themselves, and said, "Yes, yes! 'Tis the heavenly will of the Emperor;" and so the thing was settled. Kishen himself acknowledged his conviction that the Chinese would never be able to contend with Europeans till they adopted their weapons and discipline; but added, that no one dared to advise the Emperor to this effect, or he would lose his head.

The missionaries had the means, through their intimacy with the Tibetan regent, of informing themselves fully of the doctrines and customs, as well as of the constitutional forms of the Tibetan theocracy. The Boodhist religion has no eternity of punishment. Everything proceeds from God, and will return to him; but the soul passes, in transmigration, to inferior or superior animals, according to its desert. There are six grades of animals vested with sŏŭls. Angels, demons, men, quadrupeds, birds and reptiles. A soul in each

state has its means of attaining greater perfection; the highest of all is to be absorbed into the Divinity, whence again living Boodhs are detached, to take a human shape, in order to recal men from errors and teach the road to perfection.

The highest of existing regenerate Boodhs are the Delai Lama of Lassa; the Band-shan Rem-boochi, of Teeshoo Loomboo, the same who was visited by Captain Turner, in the time of Warren Hastings; the Geesoo Tamba of Grand Kooren, at Oorga, on the borders of Siberia; and the Chang-kia-fo, or great almoner of the court of Pekin. Of all these the Delai Lama of Lassa is the pope, or spiritual guide of all Boodhists. He was only nine years old when our missionaries were there, and had been then recognised pope for six years, having been taken from an obscure family of Sifans, in the province of Ming-chen-tou-tse. When this Boodhist pope dies, everybody falls to meditation and prayer to discover the new birth. Prayer barrels* turn with redoubled vigour. All who

* Every Lama has his prayer-barrel. Prayer and meditation being regarded as the only effectual means of attaining sanctification, the continued repetition of the mystical "*om mani padme hom*," is considered as the first essential of faith. Hence the number of repetitions is the test of merit; and for multiplication of them the devise of turning a barrel, on which the words are written, has been imagined, and obtains universal credence in its efficacy.

fancy they have a regenerate Boodh in their families give notice, and a council of holy ones, that is, of Kotooktoos, sits, and selects three infants, who are sent for to Lassa to be examined. For six days they are shut up, and the examiners devote themselves, this while, to earnest meditation and prayer. On the seventh day they write the names of the three infants on golden plates, and place them in an urn. The senior Kotooktoo draws the lot; and the child whose name is drawn is immediately proclaimed Delai Lama, and carried in state through the town; while the two rejected children are returned to their families, with liberal pensions. Our missionaries wished to be presented to the Delai Lama, and the regent had arranged for their presentation, but an alarm was raised that the foreigners might communicate the small-pox, for it so happened, that this disease broke out soon after the arrival of the caravan with which they had travelled to Lassa; thus they lost the opportunity of witnessing the forms and ceremonies of this extraordinary court.

While they were thus living at Lassa, the guests of the regent, and honoured and respected by the entire population, a storm was brewing in a quarter they little suspected. They meditated opening a communication, through Calcutta, with the China mission, of which they had heard nothing since they undertook this journey; and M. Gabet pro-

posed to attempt the route, through Bootan for the purpose, when the Chinese commissioner, Ki-Shen, sent for them one day, without warning, and after much prelude of compliment told them he was quite sure the climate of Tibet was too cold, and the country unsuited for Frenchmen accustomed to the life they had led; that they had better, therefore, prepare for their return. The missionaries asked if this was his advice or his order? He said, coldly, "Both." They objected, saying, as a matter of advice, they were not disposed to adopt the suggestion, being quite prepared for all the difficulties and inconveniences of a residence in Tibet; on the other hand, being under the protection of the established governor of the country, they did not recognise his right to order them out of it. "You, strangers, and foreigners! do you claim the right to remain?" said he. They replied, boldly, that they conceived they had the same right as was conceded to the natives of India, of Kashmeer, and of Mongolia; while his title of Kin-chai, or resident-ambassador, showed himself also to be a stranger. "I, a stranger!" said Ki-Shen, starting up, "I, who hold the Imperial commission, by right of which I have tried and sentenced the Nomkhan of this country." "But he was a native of China, and a guilty man," said they; "we are men of God, preaching only the

salvation of souls." "I know," said he, "you are good men, and zealous in your calling, but your religion has been condemned by the Emperor." They declared that they needed not the Imperial sanction to perform their religious duties. And with this the conversation for that day closed.

They had now indeed braved the lion in his den. They went forthwith from the Kin-chai to the regent, in order to claim his protection. He was well disposed to grant it, if left to himself. But the Kinchai declared that he was specially commissioned to protect the interests of the Delai Lama and of the Boodhist religion, in Tibet, and that he could not permit so great a danger as the continued residence in the country of men who preached doctrines subversive of both. Their aim, he said, was to subvert Boodhism, and establish their own faith. If they succeeded, what would become of the institutions of Tibet, and of the Delai Lama, and what would the Emperor say to him for allowing it? The Tibetans, he declared, knew not the extent of the danger, and seeing the men to be virtuous, and of good life, and of great comparative learning, believed them innocent on that account, as well as good; but their virtues and their learning only made them more dangerous in his eyes, for the Tibetans would be unable to cope with them on points of doctrine, and many

simple people would be won over from the faith of their ancestors, if the mischief were not prevented in time.

The matter was argued for several days between the regent and the Kin-chai, and protocols were exchanged in due form. The Tibetan regent submitted in the end; the missionaries themselves so advising, for peace-sake. They went accordingly to Kishen, to announce their readiness to obey his mandate, and proposed to leave the country by the route of India. He said he had already prepared everything for their departure; that they should travel with an escort as far as the frontier of China, but could not be permitted, as they desired, to go by Bootan to Calcutta. They exclaimed against the cruelty of compelling them to make again a perilous journey, such as they had just gone through, and hinted that their country's government might well take umbrage at such treatment of its innocent subjects. Ki-Shen coolly replied that what the French government might say or do was nothing to him, he knew his duty to his own government, and should deserve, and be punished with, death, if he suffered their stay in Tibet, and did not send them back to China.

Next day, Ki-Shen again sent for them, to read the report he had prepared of their case. He said, he wished to report fairly as well as correctly, and

therefore had sent for them to hear what he had written, in order that anything erroneous might be corrected. M. Huc, after hearing the draft read, said he had one thing to represent, but must do it in secret, as it was of more importance to Ki-Shen than to themselves. He at first insisted on what M. Huc had to say being publicly stated, but on his still refusing, Ki-Shen cleared the room, when M. Huc told him he had entered China by Macao, in the second month of the twentieth year of the reign of the Emperor Tao-Kwang, when Ki-Shen was himself viceroy at Canton, and it would be for him to say whether this circumstance should be reported or no. "Does any one know this?" said the Kin-chai. "Nobody." He then tore up the report, and wrote another, with his own hand, saying nothing of the time of the missionaries entering into China, and praising highly their learning and general character.

This matter being so settled, it was arranged that the missionaries should start after the festival of the new year of Tibet, which is one month later than that of China, and is kept like our Christmas and New Year, with nightly wakes, and revels, and festivities. On the third day of the moon the Lamas are let loose from all the adjoining monasteries, and for six days after that, the city and neighbourhood is inundated with them, and the greatest confusion and disorder prevails.

There are, near Lassa, three great Lamaserais; those of Kaldan, Preboung, and Sera, each of these having 15,000 Lamas attached to it. They are distant twelve, six, and two miles respectively from the town. The Lamas of all three deem it a point of duty to make the pilgrimage to the holy "Morou" convent, at Lassa, in order to receive there the benediction of the Delai Lama, for the new year; and the feuds and jealousies of these institutions produce, consequently, innumerable quarrels at this season.

The missionaries were, during these saturnalia, preparing for their journey back to China. They took affectionate leave of the regent, and of the Kashmerian head merchant, with both of whom they had established the most friendly relations. Through the latter, they now made the attempt to send a letter to France by Calcutta, but we are not informed whether it was successful. They parted, likewise, with the faithful Sambda-Chamba, and so prepared to wait on Ki-Shen, in order to be forwarded as he might direct.

The mandarin-commandant of their escort, was named "Lee," the "Pacificator of Kingdoms." He had commanded on the Goorkha frontier of Nipal, and wore a blue button. Though only forty-five years old, he seemed upwards of seventy, being completely worn out by service, as well as

debilitated by a life of excess, and by indulgence in spirituous liquors. He had the rank of Tou-tse, and was entitled, therefore, to an escort of fifteen men, now that he was retiring from the service and returning to China. He was a man of much intelligence, but, like most Chinese, a perfect free-thinker in matters of religion.

To this man the missionaries were first introduced on the day of their departure; and they went with him to Ki-Shen, who now announced that they were to return by a different route from that by which they had come; but, he trusted, neither so long, nor so difficult; that he could not provide them with palanquins; so that they must ride with the escort, and would find relays of horses, called oollas, at the different stages and guard-houses, for which he gave the order. He told them they would be conveyed at the public expense to Si-Chouen, where the Governor, Pao, would provide for them. He next made a speech to the "Pacificator of Kingdoms," advising him to give up drinking ardent spirits; and then he paid him on the spot 500 ounces of silver, as retiring bounty for his services. Lastly, he made a speech to the escort, enjoining them to do their duty; and when these ceremonies had been gone through, he took the two missionaries apart, and told them he himself should soon be recalled to China, and he

wished two large boxes of treasure to be carried thither in advance.* These he asked them to take amongst their baggage, and deliver safely as directed, at Ching-ton Fou, the capital of Se-chouen. Then publicly warning them against thieves, he bade them farewell.

The Kashmerian chief merchant rode with them to the Boo-Choo river, where they found a Tibetan escort of seven men and a Deba, appointed by the regent to accompany them. The river was crossed in a skin boat by the missionaries and the Pacificator, the cattle and baggage having crossed in canoes.

The missionaries were now travelling by relays of the ordinary Chinese post, on the direct line to the central provinces of China. After crossing the river on their first march on the 15th March 1846, they went for some time along a highly-cultivated valley, the fields marked by stone-wall enclosures, to Detsin, a large village six leagues or eighteen miles from Lassa. Here they were received in state by the village authorities, headed by the Deba Lama, who commanded the escort of Tibetans assigned by the regent for their protection. He proved a very intelligent and most useful intermediary for communications with

* Ki-Shen was shortly after appointed Governor of Se-chouen.

the people of the country. His name was Sham-Chand. They supped here with the Pacificator, who lent them his itinerary, which they studied and copied. From Detsin the route still lay in the same fertile valley, gradually ascending towards a mountain range. After twenty-five miles (eight leagues—eighty lis) of this march, they stopped at a convent in ruins, situated at the extreme verge of cultivation; but they had still twelve miles to ride to the post station of "Michou-Koung," which they reached only after dark. They were compelled to halt the next day, for want of the relay of horses called the "Oola." There would be no travelling in these hill countries, if the obligation to furnish men and cattle were not imperative on the population that inhabits them. This duty is enforced more strictly than the payment of taxes, and is indeed almost the only state requisition made on the population. Every village and every family acknowledges the liability, and must either serve in person or provide a substitute, or furnish cattle. The Chinese officers abuse this regulation, and use influence to get an order for a larger oola than they require, that they may take an equivalent for the excess. The Pacificator of Kingdoms had procured our missionaries to be set down as requiring twelve yaks for their luggage, although they had but

their beds and two portmanteaus. Like all of his nation, he was exceedingly avaricious.

The oola being at last provided, the caravan started next morning from Mich-hou Koung, and for five days had to pass through ravines and rocky mountains, along the line of the same river that they had crossed on leaving Lassa. The description given of this part of the route is very ungeographical, the direction by compass even not being stated. It is, indeed, not quite clear whether the route lay down the course of the Sampou, or Bramapootra, or up one of its tributaries; but we presume the latter, because, after five days' travel, they ascended the Looma-Ri mountain, or rather table-land. It was not steep, and the ascent was made without dismounting; but the table-land extends for forty lis, or about thirteen miles, and the descent to the station of Ghiamda on the other side was difficult, from the quantity of ice and snow. After leaving the table-land, they had first a dense forest to pass in a close ravine, and then to scale a mountain-ridge on foot, from the top of which the descent was made by a slide over congealed snow. There were at Ghiamda two mandarins and eighteen soldiers, who received the Pacificator with a salute, and the Tibetan civil authorities paid a similar compliment to the missionaries and their Deba. At Ghiamda they stayed two days, partly detained

by rain and tempestuous weather, but mainly because the oola was incomplete. At Ghiamda, also, the local Deba made the missionaries a present of hair spectacles, to guard their eyes against the glare of snow, a necessary precaution, for from this point they had for many days together nothing else but snow to cross. A little way out of Ghiamda, a torrent was passed on a bridge of firs; and for three days afterwards, there were no villages, nothing but Chinese guard-houses for the relays, with a few shepherds huts; still the horses and cattle of the oola were always ready. On the fourth day, after crossing on ice a large lake, they came to the village of Adza, where the Chinese itinerary says unicorns are to be found, that is, the Cherou antelopes, described by Mr. Hodgson.

From Adza to La-Ri is only fifteen miles, but between lies a range of mountains covered with perpetual snow, and for five days it had been falling fresh, making the passage very dangerous. It was determined, after some consultation, to proceed, if the weather continued fine, next day, sending the yaks in advance to beat down a pathway. The sun shone bright, and the ascent was successfully made of this mountain of spirits. On the other side, near the top, was a glacier which was passed by all the party on the slide, the yaks leading, fortunately, without loss or injury.

Passing downwards, thence, along the river, the caravan soon arrived at La-Ri, which is reckoned to be one hundred-and-one leagues, or about three hundred-and-three miles from Lassa, and was thus reached on the fifteenth day. There is a provision depôt at La-Ri, under a Leang-Tai, or Chinese civil officer, who made the excuse of ill-health for not visiting them, but the Pacificator said it was avarice that prevented the compliment being paid, in order to save the presents that would be required. On the first march from La-Ri, they crossed a lake about three miles long by two-and-a-half broad, quite frozen over, and lodged for the night at a village called Tsa-chou-ka, close to some hot springs. Next day they crossed the Chor-kou-la, equalling in elevation and difficulty of passage the La-Ri. After the ascent, the journey lay for several days over a table-land of broken ridges, with terrible precipices sometimes on both sides, and with so little footing, as to be quite unsafe, otherwise than mounted on the trained cattle of the country, and these often were lost by a slip or false step. The road, indeed, was occasionally formed of wooden pathways let into the mountain side without, of course, any railing.

After two days' journey of this kind, the caravan reached Alan-To, where they were congratulated by the Deba on their good fortune in having

lost no lives among the precipices of the approach.

From Alan-To, a march of ninety lis, or about 27 miles, brought them to Lang-ki-choung, a picturesque village in a wooded valley, called by the Chinese, on account of its fertility, Kin-Keou, "Golden Dell." Here the Pacificator was disconcerted by the announcement that the oola was ready, but that the Tanda pass in advance was closed. Our missionaries looked into the itinerary they had borrowed, and found it stated in truth that the Tanda pass was the most difficult of the entire journey. People were sent to examine the route, and reported it quite impracticable. They were in consequence detained for some days at Lang-Ki-Choung, and found amusement in playing chess with their fellow-travellers, the game being well known even in this wild region. All this while the yaks of the place added to those of the caravan were employed in beating down a passage through the snow of the pass. On the fourth day the passage was declared to be sufficiently practicable, and they started. The ascent was so steep and slippery that the only method of mastering it was to hold on by the tails of their horses, and both would often have slidden over into the valley they had quitted, but for the walls of snow left on either side. M. Gabet was quite exhausted by this

ascent, and must have been left behind, if the Tibetan escort had not taken him among them, and with great efforts pushed him up to the top of the pass, scarcely sensible. On the summit of the mountain was a body of Lama pilgrims, on their return from the Lassa-Morou, all lying down to recover their breath, which they had quite lost in the painful ascent. The descent on the other side of the pass was even more precipitous than the ascent, and an ass was lost over the precipice; but, with this exception, all reached Tanda in safety. From this station to Lha-dze, a distance of one hundred and ten lis, or thirty-six miles, the route proceeds along the plain or valley of Pian-pa, for half the distance, and then down the bed of a torrent to what river tributary we seek in vain; we guess it must be one of the streams that flow into Assam, and not into the Irawadi, or any river of Siam, or into the great river that flows through Cambodia, the main stream of which was yet far to the east.* Klaproth would carry into that stream the rivers of Lassa, which we know now to form the Brahmapootra river, debouching with the Ganges into the Bay of Bengal. The rivers of Burma and of Siam reach not to so high a latitude.

From Lha-dze to Barilang is one hundred lis or somewhat more than thirty miles, crossing the famous mountain Chak-la, one of the passes

which the Chinese call "Life-claimers." It was found fatiguing, but was passed without accident. From Barilang, after a march of equal length in a valley studded with herdsmens' huts, and herds of wild yaks, they reached Chobando, a considerable town, with its houses and Lamaserais painted red. Here is a military station of twenty soldiers under a Tsien-Chong, who as an old comrade of the Pacificator, gave the party a dinner. The town is on the side of a mountain; and to reach it they passed a fierce torrent over a fragile shaking wooden bridge. Of this river, also, we learn no more, and are uncertain, therefore, whether the dividing land of the waters of India had yet been reached. They were overtaken here by two imperial couriers, who had left Lassa only six days before, and had in that short time accomplished six hundred miles, on the same road that the missionaries had traversed with so much difficulty in a month. Our travellers were told that the dispatches would reach Pekin on the thirtieth day, carried all the way frequently by the same men. The couriers who make these wonderful journeys, prepare themselves by a day of fast before starting, and during the whole journey eat only two eggs at each relay, never resting anywhere, and travelling both night and day.

There are two monasteries at Chobando, and

in one is the great printing press for sacred works for the entire Kham province, which they had now entered. Kia-Yu-Kiao was the next station; the road led down a valley of heavy forest, and the river Look-chou, which flows through it was broad, deep and rapid; the wooden bridge over it had recently fallen, the wood having decayed from age and neglect. The river was accordingly passed on a raft constructed hastily for the purpose. Nine or ten miles below Kia-yu-Kiao they crossed the river again over a fragile wooden bridge, and then passed over a mountain to Wa-ho-chai, a military station, where it began to snow heavily, much to the discomfiture and alarm of the caravan, for the next day's march lay over a frozen lake, where a general with all his army had been buried in snow in the reign of Kang-hi, owing to his firing a gun at the time of encamping according to the regulated order of the Chinese military service. The march of next day was long, being one hundred and fifty lis, or from forty-five to fifty miles. They started before daylight, and crossed the table-land and lake of Wa-ho in full sunshine, their eyes suffering extremely from the glare of the snow, notwithstanding their use of hair spectacles. It was dark before they came to an end of the table-land, and they reached Nzenda-chai, by a painful descent, at mid-

night, completely worn out with fatigue and nearly blinded. They were compelled to halt next day, in order to relieve their eyes by medical treatment. After three more stages of severe mountain travel they reached Chamdo (Tsiamdo) on the banks of the great river, Kiang-tang-Chou. Thus, in thirty-six days from Lassa, they had got over two thousand five hundred lis, of the Chinese itinerary, which they reckoned equal to two hundred and fifty leagues, or seven hundred and fifty miles. A li is not quite one-third of a mile, for two hundred lis equal a degree of latitude, or sixty-nine miles, one hundred and sixty-six decimals.

Chamdo is a considerable military station: it has a garrison of three hundred men, with four officers, a Yeon-Ki, a Tsien-Choong, and two Pa-Choongs. There is also a depôt of provisions, under charge of a civil officer called a Liang-tai. Chamdo is the capital of the province of Kham, and was heretofore fortified, but the walls had fallen to decay. It lies in the fork of the two rivers, Dza-Chou and Om-Chou, which uniting form the Kiang-tou-chou, which flows into Cambodia, and is there called the Ya-long-Kiang; both are bridged, and the road from Lassa to Se-Chouen passes over one, that to Yunan over the other bridge. Chamdo is a considerable city, but rather in decay. There is a large Lamaserai under a Kotooktoo, who is the

sovereign of the Kham province. Inferior to him but also of saintly dignity, is the Chak-Chouba of Jaya, a Lamaserai, lying five hundred lis, or one hundred and fifty miles eastward towards China. At the period of our missionaries passing through Chamdo there was a feud raging between its Kotooktoo and this Chak-chouba; the latter, an aspiring young priest, claimed to have received the diploma of a Kotooktoo in a previous generation, from the Delai Lama, a fact of which it was difficult to prove the negative. The Chamdo Kotooktoo, however, refused to recognise this assumption of new dignities, and the entire province, and especially the priesthood of Kham, were in commotion on account of this quarrel. After the usual course of written and verbal disputation in support of the claim and in resistance to it, the partisans of each side came to blows. Half the province had been ravaged by these hostilities, and the bitterness with which the war was carried on convulsed the entire population. A truce had recently been agreed to, at the time when our missionaries passed, in order that the quarrel might be referred for adjudication to the Delai Lama, and commissioners had been sent from Lassa, and from Pekin, to adjust the difference. Many conferences had, in consequence, been held, and the young aspirant of Jaya himself attended at Chamdo

with a large retinue of his adherents to influence and overawe the decision. The popular feeling was all on his side, the elder Kotooktoo of Chamdo being deemed a creature of the imperial court of Pekin, and the Tibetan national spirit eschewing especially, all foreign intervention in their spiritual quarrels. The missionaries were treated with deference and respect by both parties during the three days of their halt at Chamdo. The infirmities of Lee, the Pacificator of Kingdoms, and especially the swelling of his legs, had so increased during this painful journey, that he was advised here to purchase a palanquin, but could not be induced to incur the expense. The party was overtaken at this stage by a Chinese Liang-tou, or civil commissary, who was returning to China with his son, a youth of eighteen years of age; both travelled in palanquins, having left Lassa a few days after the missionaries: but they had suffered so much from the journey, that it was doubtful whether they would have strength to reach their native country.

On our travellers leaving Chamdo, their party was joined by a Chinese soldier, who, having received his discharge, was carrying back his family by a Tibetan wife—an unusual thing, for which he was laughed at by the men of the Chinese escort. The wife rode an ass, and led a pack-horse with a child

in each of two cages balanced across his back. The soldier brought up the rear, with a boy of twelve years old riding behind him. The route of the caravan lay up the Dza-Chou river to Meng-Phoo, distant only about twenty-five miles, and next day a march of twenty miles brought them to Pao-tun, where the Tibetan population began to show a hostile spirit towards the Chinese of the escort. A march of thirty miles then carried them to Bagong; in the course of it they saw many calcareous hills, full of natural caves, some of large dimensions, but they could not stop to examine them. Before this, all the mountains the missionaries had crossed from Lassa were of granite, but now most of them were of chalk or lime-stone, and the road near Bagong was skirted with frequent slabs of marble, on which the mysterious prayer "Om mani padme hom" was carved, with more or less neatness, in evidence of the devotion of the population.

On the road between Chamdo and Bagong the Chinese Liang-Tou died in his palanquin; the bearers on setting it down and opening the curtains found him dead. He had left Chamdo two days only before the caravan; and the son here purchased a coffin, and fixed it in the palanquin, in order that the corpse might be so conveyed to the land of its fathers. For this the young man

paid dearly, but filial duty required the sacrifice.

The Tibetan authorities at Bagong distinctly told Lee the Pacificator, that no oola would be furnished except on payment of a fixed rate of hire. The Pacificator remonstrated, but it was of no use. He accordingly made a complaint to the Proul-Tamba, a Tibetan Lama of great influence, who lived at a short distance from Bagong. The Lama came himself the next day, and was received with great ceremony. He was a man of much intelligence, and of very striking appearance. He recognised the Pacificator as an old comrade, but was himself a hot partisan of the Jaya-Kotooktoo, and had been engaged in many warlike operations in his favour, in which he had always been victorious. He complained loudly of the Chinese for having interfered in the domestic quarrels of Kham, and alluded also to the trial and punishment of the Nom-Khan of Lassa by Ki-Shen, as a gross violation of Tibetan independence. He even spoke slightingly of the great emperor, as being a layman of no equal authority with a regenerate Boodh. After much invective of the same kind against Chinese domination, he gave at last the oola out of consideration for his old comrade, and for the two Lamas of the West, who he said had been specially recommended to

him by the regent of Lassa. Their route lying by the residence of the Proul-Tamba, they paid him a visit of ceremony on their way, in return for this civility, and towards evening arrived at Wang-T'sa, where the Chinese guardhouse had been demolished and everything showed signs of civil war. Here the men who came with the oola resigned their charge to the women of the place, because Gaya, the next stage, being of the opposite faction, the men dared not show themselves near it. On their arrival at Gaya, the women delivered their charge, and returned immediately with the oola quite unmolested, leaving the travellers at the mercy of the population. A council was forthwith held of the chief men of the place, and it was resolved to furnish an oola to the Tibetans of the party, and to the missionaries, gratis, in deference to the regent of Lassa, but to demand payment for all animals taken by Chinese of the party. The Pacificator remonstrated, and inveighed in vain against this resolution; he was obliged to submit.

At Angti, the next stage, they were detained five days, partly by a fall of snow, but mainly while discussing the affair of the oola. The Deba Chief of Angti, was a dwarf, almost without legs, named Bomba, a man nevertheless of great energy of character. Mounted on the shoulders of a strong mountaineer, his voice was always heard loudest;

he influenced every determination of the local council, and arranged everything. He also was particularly civil to the missionaries, and gave them a dinner, but was inexorable in his hostility to the Chinese.

On leaving Angti there is a high snowy mountain pass, which proved as troublesome as any of the preceding. The passage occupied the whole day, and it was midnight before they reached Jaya, the head quarters of the aspiring Kotooktoo. The town had suffered in the civil war, and was nearly destroyed; but there was here a guard-house and a garrison of twenty Chinese, who strove almost in vain to maintain a strict neutrality in the civil war. The next stage was Adzoo-Than, where they overtook, again, the palanquin of the Liang-Tou, who had died at Bagong, and whose son here also fell a victim to the hardships of the journey. How to carry to China this second corpse, puzzled much the ingenuity of the escort, yet it was a duty not to be neglected. The body of the son was accordingly secretly cut in pieces, and placed in the same coffin with the father.

From Adzoo-Thang the next stage was Ché-Pan-Keou, a valley of slates, gold-dust, and musk deer. Here, and at the three following stations, the Chinese were similarly called upon to pay the hire of the oola, while the missionaries and Tibetans were furnished with cattle gratis.

The party next arrived at Keang-Tsa, a Chinese town and military post of considerable size, having two military mandarins. These latter persuaded Lee, the Pacificator, to give up travelling on horseback, and to use the palanquin of the son of the civilian, which was at his service gratis, in consequence of the youth's decease.

Four days after leaving Keang-Tsa, the caravan reached the banks of the mighty Yang-tse-Keang. They crossed it soon after, and descended its valley to Bathang, a large city and military station, situated in a climate differing altogether from that in which they had spent the preceding two years. At Bathang is a garrison of three hundred Chinese soldiers, under a Chiou-Pie, two Tsien-Chongs, and a Pa-Choong, whose pay, amounting in the whole to nine thousand ounces of silver, is remitted regularly from China. The population is mixed Chinese and Tibetan. There is here a large Tibetan Lamaserai, under a Kampo-delegate of the Delai Lama, but his authority is confined to spiritual matters, the temporal power being in the hands of a Tou-Tse, or tributary prince of China. The increasing illness of the Pacificator caused a halt of three days at Bathang. From Chamdo to Bathang the route had been southerly for the entire twenty days of march, but now it turned northward, and on the second day after leaving that city, they crossed

another snowy range, and encamped in a miserable hut, at a station called Ta-so, situated in a valley, whence again they ascended, next day, to a table-land covered with snow. Beneath it was a magnificent forest of pines, and cedars, and hollies of large size.

The march was long from Ta-so to Samba, and Lee, the Pacificator, quite worn out with the fatigue, was found dead in his bed in the morning. This caused a halt, until arrangements could be made to carry the body forward. The Chinese escort were now without a commandant, and were not willing to obey the Tibetan Lama, who had the separate charge of the escort of that nation, provided by the regent of Lassa. The missionaries were compelled in consequence to take on themselves the general direction of the party, and were cheerfully obeyed by the men of both nations. Three more days of mountain march carried them to Li-thang, a depot with one hundred soldiers, having for officers a Liang-tai, a Cheon-pie, and two Pa-Choongs. It was the duty of one of these to take the command vacated by the death of the Pacificator, and to carry on the escort, but all wished to shirk the service, and to leave the missionaries to direct the march, as they had done since the death of the brigadier-general. On their refusal, a Pa-Choong was at

last appointed, who begged for a delay of two days to make preparation.

At Li-thang is a printing-press for Boodhist sacred books, but the language of the place is neither Tibetan nor Chinese, and seemed to the missionaries to resemble the Sifan dialect of the Kokonoor more than any other. The Tibetans of the escort were understood with difficulty. From Li-thang to Ta Tsien-lou, the frontier town of Sechouen, was a further distance of six hundred lis, or two hundred miles, of mountain road, divided into eight stages. In the course of this march, one day beyond Makian-Joong, the party crossed a large tributary of the Yang-tse-Kiang, called Ya-loong-Kiang, which rises at the foot of the Bayan Kharat Mountains, and joins the Blue River in the Sechouen province. At Ta-Tsien-lou the Tibetan escort took leave. It was the end of June when this town was reached; the journey from Lassa having occupied three months, and being rated in Chinese itineraries at five thousand and fifty lis, sixteen hundred and eighty-three miles. From thence to Sechouen the missionaries travelled in palanquins. Of their adventures there, and the trial they underwent before the Chinese tribunals, they promise a separate report, which, if the story be but half as well told as this of their journeys in Tartary and Tibet, will be looked for

and read with double interest; for M. Huc's lively and unpretending narrative cannot fail to leave in every reader most kindly feelings of respect for the character of these missionaries, joined to a high reverence for the truly apostolic zeal, and untiring energy which carried them through their hardships. Every one therefore will desire to follow them through all their further dangers, and to learn every circumstance of their relations with the singular sections of the human race, with which they were brought thus strangely in collision, and of whose institutions, habits and feelings their narrative promises to afford a more perfect knowledge.

But of all the important matters laid open to us in these volumes, there is nothing so interesting, or so deserving of attention, as the insight they afford into the Boodhist doctrines, and into the discipline, ritual, and practices of those who still believe and profess that religion. We must not close our notice of this work without reverting to this subject.

Every body knows that the Boodhist faith so widely spread over Eastern Asia, had its origin in the teachings of Sakhya Muni, a saint, whose era dates long before Christ. The Chinese carry the era back to more than one thousand years. De Guignes and Klaproth fix it from these autho-

rities at 1027 years before Christ; and Sir William Jones adopted the same date. But it is to be observed, that the Chinese, acknowledging the author of this religion to have been a native of India, state their nation to have adopted the faith of Boodh one thousand years after it had been preached there. Their chronology, therefore, so far as it dates from this era, commenced only from the thousandth year, and wants earlier verification. Indian authorities, on the other hand, confirming the Cingalese, Burmese, and Siamese dates for the commencement of the Boodhist era, fix the death of Sakhya-Muni (called his *nirvan*, or absorption into the divine spirit) in the year B.C. 543. This difference of four hundred and thirty-six years has led many to believe the Chinese era to refer to an anterior Boodh, but it is more probably ascribable to the round number of a thousand, assumed for the antiquity of the religion at the time of its spread in that country. The date is so far important, as the extraordinary similitude in many parts of the doctrine, and of the books, and ritual, and forms, and institutions of this religion, with those of Romish Christianity, which was remarked by the Jesuits who visited Tibet in the seventeenth century, and even by Father Rubruquis in the thirteenth, might lead to the belief that they had been borrowed entirely from this latter, if the

chain of evidence that established their greater antiquity were less complete.

The points of resemblance referred to commence even with the form of the Scriptures, or principal books of the faith. The most important is the life of Sakhya-Muni, whose doctrines are represented as having been delivered in discourses held to his ten disciples, or as arising out of occasions not unsimilar in some respects to those recorded in our Evangelists. The idea of a divine spirit being moved to take on itself a human form for the instruction of mankind, and for the redemption of the human race from the sins into which it had fallen by a course of degeneracy, is Boodhistical. The doctrine of the fall of man, that is, the Mosaic account of the creation of the world, and of the original sin of the father of the human race, is no part of Boodhism; and this we may remark would likewise most probably have been found there, if it had been a religion borrowed from the Christian as its antecedent. The spirit of Sakhya-Muni is alleged to have been pre-existent, in a condition of sanctified holiness, pre-eminent amongst the gods of Tushita, and there, being moved to become incarnate in the human form, in order to redeem mankind from the sin and degeneracy it had fallen into from long tasting of earthly pleasures, and from their corrupting influences, it elected the royal

race of Shudhoduna for the birth. The conception of Maya-Devi, the mother, is described as miraculous and mystical, and the birth as attended with miracles, but not of the same description with those which attended the birth of our Saviour. There is, however, a holy man like Simeon, who, admonished by an illumination of the world, bears witness to the child's divine mission, and laments that age will prevent his hearing his doctrine. Sakhya also at school displays learning which confounds the doctors and professors. He takes on himself the domestic state, and marries twice, but at the age of twenty-nine, he is led to commence a course of meditation, his attention being directed to four subjects in particular—old age, sickness, death, and a future state. He gives up the world to pursue his meditations on these subjects, and to seek the truth. He practises mortifications, until finding his body weakened, he bathes in the Nyranjana river, and takes refreshment afterwards to recover his strength. This is a species of baptism. He is tempted after his baptism by the God of Pleasure, who makes offers of worldly power, like those we find in the Temptation in the Wilderness. But he rejects them, and overcomes and drives away the tempter. After this his meditations are rewarded by an inspiration of the divine Spirit, and so becoming a supreme Boodh,

he begins to preach his doctrine, which is adopted first by ten disciples of implicit faith, and then wins over the multitude.

The precepts he inculcates are:—First, That there is sorrow in life. Second, That this sorrow is inseparable from mortality. Third, That it may be remedied. Fourth, That faith in his doctrine, and its reception and observance will give the remedy, which is, salvation in an improved future state, preparatory to absorption ultimately in the divine spirit. He goes from place to place in India, teaching this doctrine, and is followed and revered, until he dies at last in Assam at the advanced age of eighty, his death being attended with many prodigies. The body is burnt, and the remains collected and revered as relics of pre-eminent sanctity. A contention then arises, as to their disposal, and the remains are divided between eight cities, each of which erects a Stupa, or mausoleum over its portion.

This is said to have occurred in the reign of Ajata-Satra, who was the predecessor of Chandragupta (Sandracottus) by one hundred and ninety-six years. The future state promised by Sakhya-Muni, is regeneration in an inferior or superior animal condition, according to the degree of spiritual perfection obtained in life by meditation and faith, the highest reward of all being that which

Sakhya-Muni himself obtained, viz., absorption into the divine Spirit, from which all vitality is believed to have emanated originally, and to which all will finally return. The next highest state to that of immediate absorption, is that of perpetual regeneration as a Boodh. There is in Boodhism no perpetuity of punishment in a place of torments, but the regeneration in inferior animals, is not very dissimilar to the purgatory of Catholics, as was remarked by Father Grueber; and the Devas, or gods, of the different heavens, are of the same class with angels and saints. In every state there is a means of reaching a superior condition, if properly followed out; and life is sacred and not to be taken without sin, because of its being of the divine essence, passing, in this world, through the course prescribed towards final absorption.

Such are the principal characteristics of the Boodhist doctrine. With respect to the institutions: the doctrine that a spiritual and even a divine condition is to be obtained by withdrawing from the world, and by meditation, prayer, and abstraction, gave early origin to the monastic condition. We have distinct evidence of the existence of institutions of this kind established in viharas, or cells and caves, or in buildings, erected for the convenience of those who sought so to spiritualise themselves by separation from the world, at dates

long antecedent to our era. Such buildings exist in India, at present, only as remains of antiquity, quite deserted; but we find them in Tibet and Tartary, exactly in the condition that we may imagine, from the traces left of the domiciles occupied by the Indian Sramanas, or Lamas, that they presented heretofore in various parts of Hindoostan: and this at periods, at least twenty centuries anterior to the present. That condition varies very little from what is reported of the earlier Christians; and we have still, according to M. Huc, both at Koon-boom and in Tibet, the type of the devotees who practised penances, and sat on pillars, like Simeon Stelites.

The discipline, the habits, and even the ritual of these monasteries of Tibet and Tartary have also a remarkable resemblance to those of the churches of Rome and Constantinople in the middle ages. With respect to the ritual, we have before noticed the strong impression which its resemblance in many points made on Father Grueber, in the seventeenth century. Captain Turner, the ambassador of Warren Hastings to Tibet, in 1783, remarked the great similarity which the chaunts of alternate verses by the officiating priest, and by the congregations of Tibet, bore to the ceremonies of high-mass in the Roman Church. He was quite ignorant of the Tibetan language, and

judged merely of the form, and manner, and effect of what he saw and heard. M. Huc confirms this report, as the result of his longer and more accurate observation, based on some acquaintance with the language of Tibet; and he tells us how intense and extensive is the study of ritual in the Koon-boom monastic college, and in similar institutions of Lassa. Now Csoma de Koros has given us translations, and abstracts, of some part of what is thus chaunted or recited, and we have ourselves been much struck by the resemblance in spirit and tone, to parts of the Litany, and of the Psalms, which are similarly read or chaunted in Catholic churches. Take the following hymn, for instance, in celebration of the victory gained over the great tempter, prior to the reception of the divine inspiration by Sakhya-Muni. We copy it from Csoma de Koros' translation, breaking only the verses, for alternation of the chaunt or recitation, which is the method of reading and delivering it.

Priest. "There has arisen the Illuminator of the world! the world's Protector! the Maker of light; who gives eyes to the world that is blind,—to cast away the burden of sin."

Congregation. "Thou hast been victorious in the fight: thy aim is accomplished by thy moral

excellence: thy virtues are perfect: Thou shalt satisfy men with good things."

P. "Gotama (Sakhya) is without sin: He is out of the miry pit. He stands on dry ground."

C. "Yes, He is out of the mire; and he will save other animated beings, that are carried off by the mighty stream."

P. "The living world has long suffered the disease of corruption. The Prince of physicians is come to cure men from all diseases."

C. "Protector of the world! by thy appearance, all the mansions of distress shall be made empty. Henceforth, angels and men shall enjoy happiness," &c. &c.

Again, see another hymn.

Priest. "To Thee, whose virtue is immaculate, whose understanding is pure and brilliant, who hast the thirty-two characteristic signs complete, and who hast memory of all things, with discernment and fore-knowledge."

Congregation. "Reverence be to Thee: we adore Thee; bending our heads to our feet."

P. "To Thee, who art clean and pure from all taint of sin,—who art immaculate, and celebrated in the three worlds,—who, being possessed of the three kinds of science, givest to animated beings

the eye to discern the three degrees of emancipation from sin."

C. "Reverence be to Thee."

P. "To Thee, who with tranquil mind clearest the troubles of evil times: who, with loving kindness, teachest all living things to walk in the path designed for them."

C. "Reverence be to Thee!"

P. "Muni! whose heart is at rest, and who delightest to explain the doubts and perplexities of men: who hast suffered much for the good of living beings: Thy intention is pure! Thy practices are perfect."

C. "Reverence be to Thee."

P. "Teacher of the four truths; rejoice in salvation! who, being thyself free from sin, desirest to free the world from sin."

C. "Reverence be to Thee."

We could multiply illustrations of this kind without limit, but these examples will suffice to show the resemblance we have noticed in the forms and method of the Boodhist ritual. It is, however, much more elaborate than that of any church of Christendom, the books containing it being very voluminous, and the services being exceedingly complicated, and differing, almost, for every day of the year, besides being special for every festival.

In the absence of authentic histories, it is not easy to settle the precise period when the doctrine and forms of Boodhist worship were first established in the east; but no one has ever doubted their great antiquity. The early missionaries of the Romish church believed them to be a form of Christianity preached there in the time of the first Apostles; and hearing of the theocratic government established in Tibet, and occasionally amongst Tartars and Mongols of the desert, carried back to Europe tales of a Prester, or Presbyter John, to excite the wonder and stimulate the zeal of the pious in Christendom. But the more accurate and searching enquiries of the present age have brought out this religion in a new character, and leave little doubt of its priority by several centuries to Christianity, with forms of worship and with doctrines, corresponding closely with those which so forcibly struck Captain Turner in Tibet, and which excited the wonder of the missionaries of successive centuries, both there and in Mongolia.

Of the sacred books of Boodhism we have now three complete versions, in the Sanscrit, Tibetan, and Pali languages; and all have been carefully examined and reported upon by thorough proficients in each of these languages respectively. We have a Sanscrit version that was obtained in Nipal by Mr. Hodgson, the British resident at Katman-

doo, and after being studied and partially abstracted by himself, was by him transmitted to the Royal Library of Paris about fifteen years ago, and has there been closely examined by Messrs. Remusat and Bournouf, whose works on the subject are before the world. We have also a Tibetan version obtained through the same channel, and subjected by the government of India to the examination of M. Csoma da Koros. The result of his labours has appeared in several translations and abstracts, which were published in the Asiatic Researches of Bengal, and in the monthly journal of the Asiatic Society between the years 1835 and 1840. The Pali version was traced out by Mr. Wm. Turnour, a high civil functionary of Ceylon. This gentleman first published in a separate volume the text, with a close translation of the Maha-wansa, an ancient poem on the origin and spread of the Boodhist religion, compiled in the fifth century of our era from the Cingalese version of the Attha-katha, a work of much higher antiquity. He next published in the pages of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a series of valuable essays, with the heading of "Pali Budhistical Annals;" and in these we find a complete analysis of the sacred books themselves, and a critical examination of the grounds for assuming them to be genuine, and for assigning them to a date and period very nearly corresponding with

that claimed for them by the professors of the religion.

We have no means of determining the precise date when the Sanscrit version of these Boodhist Scriptures was prepared. It professes to have been made from an original in the language of Moghada, that is, of Bahar, in which province both Patali-putra, (the ancient Palibothra, now Patna) and Rajgriha, where Sakhya Muni was born, and which was the more ancient capital of that province, were situated. The Tibetan version was translated from the Sanscrit, and took the shape of the Kahgyur, in which it now exists, in one hundred leaf volumes, between the seventh and ninth centuries of our era. Tibet does not pretend to conversion to Boodhism till many centuries after the death of Sakhya Muni; we cannot, therefore, look in this quarter for evidence of the date of the first appearance of this religion in the world; but when we find that the version of its Scripture now current there, and the Sanscrit version also, through which it was derived, correspond in all essentials with the Pali version of the same Scripture found in Ceylon, Siam, and Burma (for all these are identical), it is an undeniable collateral evidence of the genuine character of the whole; for there could be no collusion between the priests of all these distant regions. Still, in order to establish the antiquity of the original

Scriptures, we must seek other proofs than this conformity.

The Pali books examined and abstracted by Mr. Turnour, consist of the Pitakattayan, the Attha-katha, and the Mahawansa. The first is, *quasi*, the gospel of Boodhists, containing the life, discourses and precepts of Sakhya Muni himself, as derived from his own mouth, and put together by his disciples immediately after his decease. The Attha-katha is, *quasi*, the acts of the Apostles, and contains the account of the settlement of the Pitakattayan, and of the succession of Theros, or chief disciples and preachers of the religion after Sakhya Muni; also of the schisms which took place in the first few centuries after the *nirvan*, or decease, of the great saint and founder; and especially of the convocations held, as well to settle the Gospel itself in the first instance, as to determine the points of difference, and to suppress the schisms as they arose. This latter work is by far the most valuable to the historian, and if its genuineness and antiquity can be considered established, there are many doubtful points of chronology, and many matters touching the succession of kingly races, and of events, also regarding the state of society of the period between the death of Sakhya, B.C. 543, and the date of its promulgation, B. C. 306, that it will assist in clearing up.

It is stated in the Mahawansa, that the Pitakattayan was brought to Ceylon by Mahindo, the son of Asoka, in the eighteenth year of his father's reign, that is, in B. C. 306, in the exact Pali form in which it now exists. That the Attha-katha was brought to the island at the same time, but was circulated and first made known in the Cingalese vernacular dialect. Both books are stated to have been preserved orally only for more than two centuries, as they well might be in the monasteries; but to have been committed to writing in the reign of a king who flourished in Ceylon between B. C. 104 and B. C. 76. The Attha-katha existed in this condition in Cingalese, until it was rendered back into Pali by a priest who came from Moghada, of great learning and celebrity, whose name was Budha Ghosa. This is stated to have occurred between the years A. D. 410, and A. D. 432; and a full account of all these circumstances is given in the Mahawansa, which was written between A.D. 459, and A.D. 477, and which professes to have been compiled from the same Cingalese version of the Attha-katha. The facts mentioned in both these works correspond in all essentials with the record of similar events found in the Sanscrit and Tibetan sacred books, and the differences consist only of some insertions in the former, specially referring to Ceylon, and likely to have been interpolated by priests of that

nation. We may, therefore, fairly look on these works as standing nearly on the same footing as the Pitakattayan: for the record of events found in them was equally brought to Ceylon in the reign of Asoka, in the condition in which it existed, and was received and believed in Moghada in that reign. This, be it observed, was more than three hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. The Attha-katha contains nothing of subsequent date to B. C. 306, and it appears to have come to us perfect through this channel, although not free from interpolations, and not in the original text.

Now, let us examine whether these books contain internal evidence to confirm the inference that they were current at this early period. The Pitakattayan, which contains the life and discourses of Sakhya Muni, refers to cotemporary kings of India, of dynasties known then to have held dominion in India, and to disciples of Sakhya, who became afterwards leaders of the Boodhist faith. There is nothing found in it inconsistent with the fact of its declared antiquity. The Attha-katha tells us that this Pitakattayan was settled in the state in which we find it, for the Pali language corresponds with that of Moghada, at a convocation held in the first year after Sakhya's decease; three of his disciples, Kasyapa, Upali, and Anando,

having each presided at the recital and settlement of the three several portions of the work.

This account of its authorship is confirmed precisely by what is found in the Sanscrit and Tibetan versions of the same sacred books. The Pali Attha-katha tells us further of schisms which then arose amongst the professors of the Boodhist religion, and that for the settlement of these, a second convocation was held one hundred years after the first, which determined the points in dispute, and expelled the heretics. Of this convocation, however, and of the schisms which led to it, we have no mention in the Tibetan scriptures of Boodhism, which, as they were avowedly of much later origin, would seem to show that the importance of the convocation, and perhaps even the memory of the schism, had then quite passed away. The points in dispute in this first century of Boodhism, referred to indulgences in matters of priestly discipline, such as in respect to the keeping of salt for more than seven days, which some pretended might be allowed in vessels of horn; also in the eating of food after mid-day, and things of the kind. The indulgences claimed were ten in number. The convocation denounced them all, requiring a rigid adherence to the letter as well as to the spirit of the rules and precepts of the Pitakattayan,

as settled at the first convocation, which shows the severe discipline enforced at that early period in all viharas, as the religious establishments of the priesthood were then called in India.

In the reign of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, who was the Sandracottus of Megasthenes, a third convocation was held, according to the Attha-katha and Mahawansa, and the Tibetan sacred books confirm this. King Asoka is stated to have become a convert to Boodhism in the fourth year of his reign, and was an active propagandist of the faith. The Attha-katha says, that consequently upon this royal patronage, many heretics and unbelievers assumed the priestly garb, "shaving their heads and clothing themselves in yellow robes," which is exactly the characteristic of Lamas of the present day; and that they sauntered about viharas, spreading dissensions and interrupting the ceremonies of the true religion, being especially addicted to fire-worship and to sacrifices. Consequently, upon these dissensions, the rigid priests of Boodhism suspended the performance of the "Uposâtho" periodical worship and ceremonies, and also of the Pawarâno, declaring that these could not properly be performed in the public halls or churches of the viharas in company with heretics. The suspension of these rites continued, according to the

statement, for seven years, when King Asoka, taking umbrage, ordered the Uposâtho to be renewed at his principal vihara at Pataliputra, and sent his chief minister to enforce this order. The heads of the establishment still refused, whereupon the minister caused several of them to be beheaded on the spot, in the order in which they sat in the assembly. The king's brother, Tisso, who was attached to this vihara, then placed himself on the seat to which the minister next came in turn, and held out his head for martyrdom by decapitation; but the minister hesitated, and referred again to the king for orders. Shocked at the issue to which the matter had thus been brought, King Asoka humbled himself before the ministers of religion, and asked for absolution. A convocation was then held to settle the points in dispute, and the Boodhist church being purged by the expulsion of 60,000 heretics, whose yellow dresses were taken away and white furnished to them instead, the Uposâtho was performed again with great solemnity. It was at this convocation that the sacred books were again revised and finally settled, and the Attha-katha closes with the record of this particular event. It occurred in the seventeenth year after Asoka's inauguration, that is, in the year B.C. 307, just before Mahindo's mission to Ceylon.

Such, but with extraordinary detail, is the internal evidence deducible from these sacred books of Ceylon. It remains to show how this evidence is supported by external events and circumstances. There is, first, the fact of the era of the death of Sakhya Muni (called his "Nirvan" or absorption into the divinity), which era, being introduced into Ceylon at the time of Mahindo's carrying thither the religion and scriptures of Boodhism, has been retained in the annals of that island to the present day. The same era is current in Burma and in Siam. There is, second, the reference to the reign of Chandragupta and his descendants, whose identity with the Sandracottus of Megasthenes is admitted, and whose reign is thus fixed chronologically. These are strong corroborative circumstances, but are far from being the whole of the evidence. Within the last fifteen years, inscriptions in a very ancient Indian character have been deciphered, which purport to be edicts of a king who calls himself Devanam-pia-Piadasi. These edicts, as translated by Mr. James Prinsep, with the aid of pundits in Calcutta, purport to be injunctions of a direct Boodhist character, consistent with the faith thus stated to have been adopted by King Asoka; and Mr. Turnour has identified the name of Piadasi as identical with that of King

Asoka. In two copies of these edicts, viz., those found at Girnar in Guzrat, and at Kapoordigiri, not far from Peshawur, the names of Antiochus and Ptolemy, and of Antigonus, Alexander, and Magas, are specifically cited as of cotemporary kings, through whom the doctrines and principles of the edicts are to be further extended. We are aware that Professor Wilson, in a recent memoir on these inscriptions, has cast doubts on the interpretation of the edicts, and denies that there is ground for assigning them to King Asoka, or even for supposing them to be Boodhistical; but his criticism is a mere statement of doubts; and whether the edicts of the specific inscription he discusses, which is five times repeated, and purports to contain the edicts of the twenty-seventh year of Piadasi's reign, be fairly susceptible of Boodhistical interpretation or no, signifies little, for there is a further edict in the same precise language and character, and of the same King Pyadasi, which was discovered at Bhabra, on the road between Jypore and Dehli, and which settles the point by specifically referring to the precepts and doctrines of "Bhagavat Boodha," the Lord Boodha, as the only faith to be followed, and condemns the precepts of the Vedas, which enjoin sacrifices; and the same edict especially upholds the merit and virtues of the "Uposadh"

ceremonies, and further, is specifically addressed to the faithful congregated in Moghada. It would thus seem to have been published in the seventeenth year of this king, on the conclusion of the convocation, referred to in the Attha-katha, for purging the Boodhist church of Vedan heresies, as the condition upon which only the Boodhist priesthood would perform the periodically-recurring rite of Uposadh. This* inscription will be found in No. 102 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and is there given in text, with a translation by Kamla Kant and Sarodha Prashad, the same pundits who assisted Mr. James Prinsep in the translation and deciphering of the edicts before discovered. The stone containing the

* The following extracts are from the translation of this most important edict, as made by Kamla Kanta Pundit and Sarodha Prashad :—

"Piadasa Raja, to the multitude assembled in Maghada, saluting them, says thus:—

"That the sacrifice of animals is forbidden is well known to you. For men of Boodhist faith, such is not mete. The performance of the Uposadh is most essential."

"The vedas of the Munis are observed by their disciples; their future state is to be dreaded.

"The text of the vedas enjoining sacrifices are mean and false. Follow what the Lord Boodha hath commanded. Do this for the glory of Dhurma (religion). This I desire," &c.

writing was afterwards transmitted to Calcutta, and is there deposited. The Uposadh was a recurring monthly rite, regulated by the moon's changes; it was a church service performed in the public halls of the viharas, and whether it could properly be performed in private houses was one of the schismatic points settled at the second convocation. Its suspension for seven years was felt as a national grievance, which the King Asoka determined to remedy, but he was compelled by the obstinacy of the priesthood to submit to their condition of first cleansing the church of its heretics and schismatics. We conceive, that upon this collateral testimony of rock-preserved edicts, in a language no longer extant, but conforming with that of the Pali sacred books of Ceylon, Siam, and Burma, — of edicts which refer to kings Ptolemy and Antiochus as cotemporaries, the inference will not be rejected, that the sacred books and ritual of the Boodhists, as now observed by professors of that religion, were then the received scriptures and state religion of India. We have further evidence of this in the ruins of ancient Stupas and viharas existing in many localities of India, which indicate a condition of things and of monastic institutions, exactly corresponding with the Lamaseraïs described as still existing in Tibet and at Koon-boom, at Koko Khotun, and

in other places of Tartary and Mongolia. The Stupas are mounds of solid masonry erected over the ashes or relics of saints and teachers of the Boodhist religion; and round them cells and domiciles for disciples or Sramanas appear to have been built by the pious, or provided by themselves, in the precise manner in which they are now found at Koonboom and Lassa. These have for centuries been in ruins, but they bear inscriptions of the same, and even of more early date than the deciphered edicts of Asoka to which we have referred above. The most remarkable of these ruins are found at Sanchi, near Bhilsa, south-west of Bundelkund. The inscriptions found on several stones and gateways of this ancient vihara, furnished the key for deciphering the Asoka edicts; and within these few days, there has been read at the Royal Asiatic Society of London, a paper by Captain Cunningham, on the subject of excavations made to ascertain the precise contents of several of these Stupas. The metal, steatite, and chrystal vases containing the relics have all been exhumed, and on several, or on the covering cerements, are legible inscriptions in characters of the age antecedent to that of Asoka, recording that the relics are those of the very disciples and associates of Sakhya Muni, whose names are mentioned in the Pitakattayan

and in the Attha-katha, as well as in the Tibetan books. This seems to be a strong confirmation of the verity of those books, and of the fact that the record they contain was at least the received gospel of the age, when these Stupas were built, and that alphabet was used. We have no desire and no right to anticipate the publication of the very interesting results which have attended the search of these Stupas. Suffice it that they are quite irreconcileable with any construction of the accounts received of the Boodhist faith, that does not carry back the founder to the sixth century before our era. These, indeed, may not be the real tombs of the saints and disciples of Sakhya Muni, whose names are found on the vases and cerements, but the more probable inference is that they are so; still, whether admitted to be so or no, the appearance of the buildings, and the character of the inscriptions, indicates a date for their construction at least three or four hundred years before Christ; and the erection of these Stupas at that date over even fictitious relics, shows the sacred books recording the laws of these saints and disciples to be then the received faith of a large and wealthy population; and this is all we seek to establish.

If Boodhism, however, existed with these books at so early a date, we are met by the difficulty of

accounting for the silence of Greek authors of antiquity in respect to them. The very name of Boodh is met with nowhere in Greek literature before the time of Clemens Alexandrinus, and he mentions only incidentally one Terebinthus, who, coming from India, set up for a Boodh (Βούττα), and imposed on many. We certainly have difficulty in accounting for this silence, but it is not inconsistent with Greek habit, so to treat barbarian literature of all kinds. How little do we find in Greek books of the history or literature of the Persians and Parthians, with whom they were in close relation, politically and commercially, for many ages. And it is to be observed, the Boodhist sacred books were the special property of the priesthood, and were mostly preserved and transmitted orally amongst them: probation, by long discipline, and by shaving the head and assuming the yellow garb of a priest, was a condition antecedent to the acquisition of any knowledge of them; and the same is even now the case with rigid Boodhists. Have not even the learned of Europe, with the advantage of a press, and a reading public eager for knowledge, been for many centuries acquainted with the existence of Boodhists with peculiar doctrines, without, until very recently, obtaining any accurate knowledge of these sacred books? That the doctrines of

Sakhya Muni spread widely over the western world, as well as over the east, is sufficiently known and established. Pythagoras brought the doctrine of transmigration into Greece at a period so close to that of the decease of Sakhya Muni, as to make it probable that he received it even from himself; but we have no direct evidence that the philosopher went further east than Babylon. The fact, however, that he derived his doctrines from an Indian source is very generally admitted; and it has other points of resemblance with Boodhism, besides the belief in metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls. The discipline he established, and the life of silence and meditation he enjoined, with the degrees of initiation introduced, which was a kind of successive ordination, correspond exactly with the precepts of the Pitakattayan, and the practices reported in the Attha-katha.

The Pythagorean institutions also are described as very monastic in their character, resembling thus closely, in that respect also, the viharas of the Boodhists of India. The doctrines of Pythagoras were widely spread over Greece, over Italy, and Asia Minor for centuries after his decease, and under the name of Mythraic, the faith of Boodh had also a wide extension. The general expectation of the birth of a great prophet, Redeemer, or

Saviour, which is alluded to even by Tacitus, as prevailing at the period when the founder of the Christian religion appeared, was, there can be no doubt, of Boodhistic origin,* and not at all confined to Jews, or based only on the prophecies of their Scripture. Although, therefore, the classic literature of that age affords no evidence of the precise character of this Boodhism, nor of the basis of Scripture or tradition on which it rested, still the two facts, viz., first, the existence of these books in India at the period; and secondly, the wide spread in the west of the doctrines and belief which rested upon them, may be considered as both well established, and as not likely to be denied.

Under the supposition of the pre-existence of Boodhism, such as these sacred books describe, and its professors still preach, the rapid spread of Christianity in the first and second centuries of our era, is not surprising. To a mind already impressed with Boodhistic belief and Boodhistic doctrines, the birth of a Saviour and Redeemer for the Western world, recognised as a new Boodh by wise men

* The advent of another Boodh a thousand years after Gotama, or Sakhya Muni, is distinctly prophesied in the Pitakattayan and Attha-katha: Gotama declares himself to be the twenty-fifth Boodh, and says, "Bagawa Metteyo is yet to come." The name Metteyo bears an extraordinary resemblance to Messiah.

of the east, that is, by Magi, Sramanas, or Lamas, who had obtained the Arhat sanctification, was an event expected, and therefore readily accepted when declared and announced. It was no abjuration of an old faith that the teachers of Christianity asked of the Boodhists, but a mere qualification of an existing belief by the incorporation into it of the Mosaic account of the creation, and of original sin, and the fall of man. The Boodhists of the west, accepting Christianity on its first announcement, at once introduced the rites and observances which for centuries had already existed in India. From that country Christianity derived its monastic institutions, its forms of ritual, and of church service, its councils or convocations to settle schisms on points of faith, its worship of relics, and working of miracles through them, and much of the discipline, and of the dress of the clergy, even to the shaven heads of the monks and friars.[o] It would require an entire volume to compare in detail the several points of similarity, and to trace the divergence, from the more ancient doctrine and practice, in the creed and forms of ritual ultimately adopted by the churches of the west. It is enough for our present purpose to establish the superior antiquity of the one, found to exhibit so many points of close correspondence.

But independently of the similarity of doctrine

of ritual, and of institutions, we find that Boodhism has run in the east a very analogous course with Romanism in the west. Having its classes of specially initiated and ordained teachers, it spread widely amongst the population, before it was adopted and made a state religion by the reigning sovereigns. It was torn to pieces by heresies and schisms on trivial observances and doctrinal points, till one sect, having enlisted the power of the state on its side, persecuted and expelled its opponents, to the weakening and ultimate ruin of the church and its authority. The subserviency of the temporal to the spiritual power was universally preached by this separate initiated class; and, in presumptuous reliance on their influence over the populace, priests in the east, as in the west, have humbled and destroyed the kingly power, and occasionally, when circumstances favoured the pretension, have established a priestly government, such as we see in Tibet, in entire supercession of the ordinary temporal authority, and have sought to reserve the administration of all affairs for the special class of initiated or ordained. But the consequence in the east has been the same as in the west. The priestly governments have been unable to maintain themselves without foreign support: priestly domination has been found quite incompatible with energetic mili-

tary action, which always has been, and always must be, the source of real political power. The great Lamas of Tibet are the protected minions of China, just as the Pope of Rome is dependent to day on France, and was recently on Austria, notwithstanding the reverence in which the Papal name and spiritual authority is still held by vast populations.

But the religion of Tibet and of China, differing widely in that respect from that of papistical Rome, is by principle tolerant. Believing that the human mind can, by meditation and abstraction, arrive at the knowledge of divine truth, it concedes freedom of thought and conscience to all. Boodhists will contend with Boodhists for the superiority of their Kotooktoo, and will persecute and excommunicate those who deny his pretensions. Of this M. Huc witnessed a striking instance in the contentions of the Kotooktoos of Chamdo and of Jaya, as he passed through Kham, the easternmost province of Tibet. But, towards strangers, and the preachers of new doctrines, Boodhists have always displayed not only tolerance, but every desire to hear, to learn, and to understand. Hence the great success that preachers of Christianity have always experienced in their missions to Boodhist countries and communities. Conformity of doctrine and of precepts in several main essentials leads a Boodhist to regard a missionary only as a reformer, nay, even as aiming to

reclaim men to the pure or more ancient worship of the best days of his own religion. It is only by alarming the civil authorities, and bringing the government to fear the separate association of large numbers for purposes, and under disciplined leaders, which may be turned to political mischief, that the powers of the state, and of its officers and institutions, are brought into action to suppress and put an end to conversions. They, whose hearts are set on the millenium of a general adoption of the Christian faith, would do well to study the causes which led to the violent persecutions instituted against Christian converts and missionaries, in China, in Japan, and more recently in Cambodia. Let them use their advantage to engraft the belief of the divine mission of Christ on the prepared mind of the Boodhist population, without seeking the separate organization of their converts into communities under a priest's ambitious leading. Let them confine themselves to points of faith, of doctrine, and of morals, without aiming to enforce ritual observances and new modes of life. Thus may they hope to plant the seed, that, sooner or later, will produce a rich harvest of true religious belief, and of virtuous conduct, and sound morality, even though they fail to enforce the universal conformity, which, under the existing diversity of mind, and of motive, and of intellectual power, can scarcely be looked

upon as a condition intended by Providence for mankind.

The Boodhist practical creed is thus briefly stated by Csoma da Koros:—

1st. To take refuge only with Boodh.

2nd. To form in the mind the resolution to aim at the highest degree of perfection, and so to be united with the Supreme Intelligence.

3rd. To humble oneself before Boodh, and to adore him.

4th. To make offering of things pleasing to the six senses.

5th. To glorify Boodh by music, and by hymns, and by praise of his person, doctrine, and love of mankind, of his perfections or attributes, and of his acts for the benefit of animated beings.

6th. To confess one's sins with a contrite heart, to ask forgiveness of them, and to repent truly, with a resolution not to commit such afterwards.

7th. To rejoice in the moral merit and perfections of animated beings, and to wish that they may obtain beatitude.

8th. To pray and exhort existing holy men to turn the wheel of religion, that the world may long benefit by their teaching.

Persuade the Boodhist that Christ fulfils his idea of a perfect Boodh, and let the name of Our Saviour be substituted for Boodh, in the above

creed, and who will deny that the Boodhist is a perfect Christian.

Tsong-Kaba (Tson-Kha-pa) the saint-reformer of the fourteenth and fifteenth century of our era, according to the same authority, thus defines the duty of Boodhists, classing mankind in three degrees according to their intellectual capacity.

Men of the lowest order of mind must believe that there is a God, and that there is a future life, in which they will receive the reward or punishment of their actions and conduct in this life.

Men of the middle degree of intellectual capacity must add to the above, the knowledge that all things in this world are perishable; that imperfection is a pain and degradation, and that deliverance from existence is a deliverance from pain, and consequently, a final beatitude.

Men of the third, or highest order, must believe in further addition: that nothing exists, or will continue always, or cease absolutely, except through dependence on a causal connection or concatenation. So will they arrive at the true knowledge of God.

What is this but Christianity, wanting only the name of Christ as its preacher, and the Mosaic faith for its antecedent? It is these that the missionary must seek to add.

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